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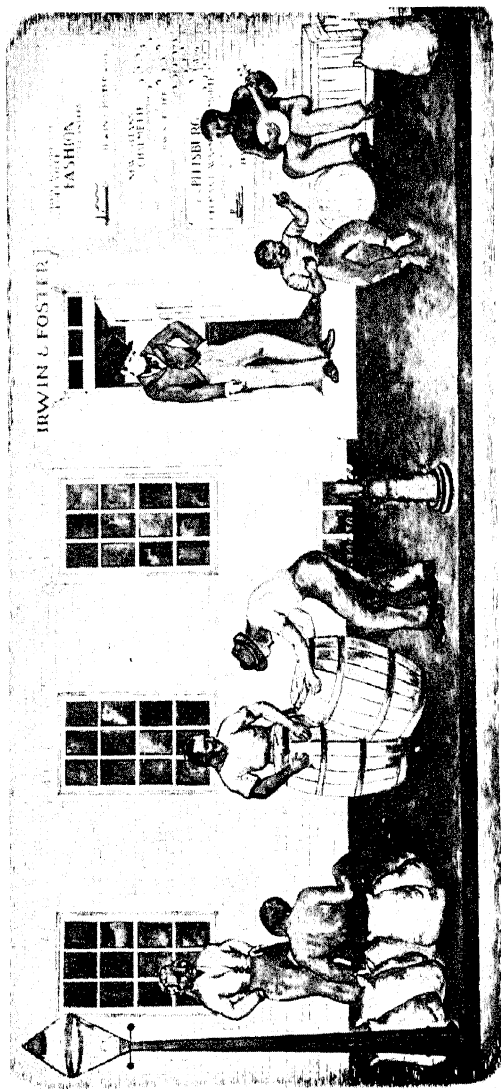
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STEPHEN FOSTER

Youth's Golden Gleam



"BUT IF YOU WANT TO DANCE,
JUST DANCE OUTSIDE DE DOOR."

—LINES FROM STEPHEN FOSTER'S SONG, "OH LEMUEL."

From a mural, by Applied Arts students of the University of Cincinnati, in the University Library, showing the young composer at the office of Irwin & Foster, Steamboat Agents, Cincinnati.

STEPHEN FOSTER

Youth's Golden Gleam

A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND
BACKGROUND IN CINCINNATI

1846 - 1850



By RAYMOND WALTERS

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

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DEDICATED WITH HIGH REGARD AND ADMIRATION
TO MR. JOSIAH K. LILLY OF INDIANAPOLIS
WHOSE ENTHUSIASTIC DEVOTION TO
STEPHEN FOSTER'S LIFE AND WORK
HAS BROUGHT FORTH NOTABLE CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE HISTORY OF MUSIC IN AMERICA

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PREFATORY

“**A** SPIRIT of pleasure and youth’s golden gleam!” It takes a magic line such as this of Wordsworth¹ to suggest the fascination of the period from 1846 to 1850 which Stephen Collins Foster, aged twenty to twenty-three, spent in Cincinnati. The happiest years of his life, he called them, as his daughter has testified.² He had the very heaven of being young, of working on his own in a large and stimulating city, and of composing melodies rendered in polite parlors and one lusty song, “Oh! Susanna,” roared by the ‘Forty-Niners on their covered-wagon journeys to California and echoed around the world.*

The chronicle of these youthful years of America’s Troubadour, as John Tasker Howard³ has happily termed Stephen Foster, deserves to be told in the fullness which recent investigation now makes possible. New facts have been found which reinforce the importance of the three Cincinnati years in the shaping of his genius. In this instance time and place were right for him.⁴

It was in Cincinnati that Stephen Foster worked as a bookkeeper for a steamboat commission firm, thus dutifully meeting the wishes of his family.

* The persistent vitality of this tune is illustrated by its use as a party song eighty years later—in the Presidential campaign of 1936.

It was there that he rounded into manhood, his personality enlarging under the cultural influences of the Queen City of the West.

It was in Cincinnati, with its exceptional musical environment, that he completed his self-education and advanced from apprenticeship into the mastery of his musical creativeness.

It was there, with Kentucky across the river and negro roustabouts singing on the wharves, that he came to know the South and negro life.

It was there that he met the performers of theatrical minstrelsy and began professionally to compose for them.

It was there that the die was cast: he would not follow business—he would make his career as a composer of music.

In addition to the three years of his residence we have records of a journey from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati with his mother and sister when Stephen was a small boy, and of another visit, along with his wife and daughter, when he was a man of thirty-two. These are here set forth in due order.

In this chronicle there is every effort to avoid prettifying and exaggeration and to tell simply and in proportion the story as it emerges from letters, newspapers, court records, church records and other documents of the era. Because it inspired and gave color and feeling to the songs of Stephen Foster, his background of these years is sketched somewhat fully—the river, the city, and the near-

by South. Epic qualities are here, for, if we but attend, we can hear the whistles of the Ohio River steamboats transporting Southern ladies and gentlemen to the Queen City, the singing of negroes on the levee, the vocal and instrumental programs of concert musicians and of black-faced minstrels, and the music of a youthful genius, who, composing for such as these, transcended his immediate objectives and wrote for all mankind then and now.

CHAPTER I

A BOY VISITS CINCINNATI

"And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts."—Longfellow

ON a late May day in 1833 a small boy—he was to be seven years old on the Fourth of July—held fast to his mother's hand as she and his older sister and he followed the porter who carried their bags from the Pittsburgh landing to the steamboat *Napoleon*, westward bound on the Ohio River. How this boy looked and how he was dressed we know from a daguerreotype, "Stephen C. Foster as a Lad" in the Foster Hall Collection,* revealing his direct, dark eyes and sensitive mouth and also the adornments of which he was doubtless very proud—seven shiny buttons on his jacket.

Mrs. William Barclay Foster, wife of the collector of tolls at Pittsburgh and former member of the Pennsylvania State Legislature, was taking a vacation journey with her children, Henrietta, aged fourteen, and "Little Stephy," as the family called him. Their first

* The notable collection of material relating to Stephen Foster, assembled by Josiah K. Lilly of Indianapolis at Foster Hall, is to be housed in the Stephen C. Foster Memorial Building at the University of Pittsburgh. Mr. Lilly has given his collection to the University; the beautiful memorial building has been erected by public-spirited citizens of Pittsburgh, the composer's native city.



"LITTLE STEPHY"

ABOUT THE TIME OF HIS BOYHOOD VISIT TO CINCINNATI.

Daguerreotype in the Foster Hall Collection.

stop was at Augusta, a village on the Kentucky side of the river, sixty-five miles east of Cincinnati. This was the home of two brothers of Mrs. Foster, the Reverend Joseph S. Tomlinson, a graduate of Transylvania College, Lexington, who was president of the Augusta Female College; and Professor William Tomlinson.¹ The visitors were guests of the president, and, as Mrs. Foster wrote later, "Henrietta had a fine opportunity of practising on the piano at his house." She described her presidential brother as "a fine, amiable gentlemanly little man" who "pay'd my passage . . . to Cincinnati."²

After the village quietude of Augusta, Stephy must have been doubly thrilled with the sights and sounds of the big city when the *Napoleon* arrived at the Cincinnati landing. The river front,³ as the Fosters walked down the gangplank from the packet, was a grand spectacle for a small boy. Upward to Front Street spread the stone-paved expanse known as the public landing or levee. A beehive of activity it was, with negro stevedores loading and unloading baggage and freight from a half dozen steamboats, and top-hatted drivers of omnibuses and coaches shrilly exhorting the boat passengers to take their particular vehicles to their particular hotels.

As the Fosters rode up to Fourth Street, Stephy's dark eyes must have widened as he watched the canvas-covered wagons on the levee and in the streets. In these wagons hun-

dreds of pioneers⁴ were then on their way to new farms in Indiana, Illinois and other then Western States.* And so they arrived at a fine house at the corner of Broadway and Fourth Street, the Cassilly mansion.

Mrs. Foster and the children passed a happy week with Mr. and Mrs. Michael P. Cassilly, old friends of the Foster family.⁵ The Cassillys had come from Pittsburgh a half dozen years before. The dry goods business in which Mr. Cassilly was engaged had prospered; they enjoyed a house and carriages appropriate for a family of substance and standing in Cincinnati.

With all this, as her correspondence reveals,² Mrs. Foster was duly impressed, and the children of course had a wonderful time. Henrietta may have questioned the married daughter of the Cassillys, Mrs. Ann Cassilly Marshall, about the school days she had spent at St. Joseph's in Maryland with Henrietta's older sister, Charlotte Foster. Then there was little Sophie Marshall to play with.

We can imagine that William B. Cassilly, grown son of the Cassillys, was pleased with Stephy and took him to see the sights of what Mrs. Foster described as this "beautiful city." The population⁶ was then 27,645, which exceeded any other community in the West of that period. Cincinnati in 1833 had impressive

* This was Stephen's introduction to the pioneer migration, of which a later tide, the gold seekers of 1849, were to make their own his song "Oh! Susanna," a product of his Cincinnati years.

stores, banks and residences, four hotels and thirty churches.⁶

Within a short walk from the Cassilly home there were three music schools and several music stores where pianofortes were displayed, as well as stringed and wind instruments.⁷ We can see Stephy, who already played the flute and the piano with precocious skill, lingering before the show windows of the music stores. More boy than musician, he probably found even greater fascination in the exhibition at the Western Museum—an anaconda, a boa constrictor, and “great serpents of India ALIVE!”⁷

Possibly the Cassillys took Mrs. Foster, Henrietta and Stephy for a boat ride on the famous Miami Canal which, after being closed for two weeks, was again in use;⁸ thus repeating the experience of sister Charlotte who in 1828 “went 10 miles up the canal and pass’d through several locks” and wrote that Cincinnati “is the most beautiful city in the western country. . . . The country around is very pretty.”⁹

Possibly Mrs. Cassilly and Mrs. Marshall pointed out to Mrs. Foster that deserted memento of the English authoress who said such sharp things about pioneer Cincinnati, Mrs. Trollope’s bazaar—an architectural combination described by a New England visitor as “an odd looking concern, part church, part jail, part bank and part dwelling house.”¹⁰

To an outstanding event which took place in Cincinnati during that week, Mrs. Foster made special reference in a letter. This was the visit of the statesman, Daniel Webster. When Mrs. Foster read the *Daily Gazette* after breakfast on Tuesday morning, June 18, she could hardly miss the item reporting that Mr. Webster "has been devoting his time to cultivating acquaintance with our citizens and making observations upon our city."¹¹ That evening he attended a performance in the New Theatre of Sheridan's play *Pizarro* in which Edwin Forrest took the leading part.

On Wednesday evening there was a public dinner in honor of Mr. Webster which the *Daily Gazette* recorded¹² as "a brilliant affair." "Everything passed off well" and Mr. Webster responded with the following toast:

The City of Cincinnati.—A beautiful illustration of the cooperation between nature and art. May the prosperity of her citizens be commensurate with their hospitality and enterprise.

Mr. Webster's tribute to Cincinnati hospitality was echoed by Mrs. Foster who wrote that, upon leaving, "Mr. Cassilly gallanted me down to the water in his new state coach, where Captain Stone again received us"; all this, she declared, "in such great style you would have thought it was Mrs. Webster, the statesman's lady."²

Mrs. Foster and the children proceeded by steamboat to Louisville, where they "made a visit of a week." The great fear of Mrs. Foster during the journey was "lest the Cholera Asphyzia should overtake us."² As the newspapers show, an epidemic of cholera was then prevalent in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky and Tennessee. An article¹³ instructing the public "to be prepared to meet it with all the means of prevention and cure which experience has shown to be efficacious" appeared in several journals, the author being the renowned Dr. Daniel Drake of the Medical College at Cincinnati. Mrs. Foster and Henrietta and Stephen escaped the pestilence and, as she wrote, "Bless God, ever merciful and gracious . . . we arrived at home in good health."²

■

CHAPTER II

RIVER COMMERCE

“And de wheel goes round and round.”
Steamboat melody “The Glendy Burk.”
—Stephen Foster

I.

SOME thirteen years later, on an afternoon late in the year 1846, Stephen Foster again stood at the rail of the daily Pittsburgh-Cincinnati packet, scanning the Cincinnati waterfront for the long frame building which housed the commission office of Irwin & Foster. He was twenty now, a slender youth a trifle below the medium stature.¹ While not the romantic figure which our motion pictures of today have represented him, he had a fine head and eyes that were “very dark and very large”¹ and a charm of manner which continued until his last unhappy days.

Stephen’s formal education was over; it had been obtained in Pennsylvania schools—Athens Academy and Towanda Academy, followed by a very brief stay at Jefferson College where his grandfather had been a trustee and his father a student. Stephen’s heart had not been in his books but in that art for which his father said, with something of a sigh, “he possesses a strange talent.” It was quite frankly to cause him to forsake music for

STEAMBOATS.



FOR PITTSBURGH.--The
Regular Thursday Packet
MONONGAHELA,
Stone, master, will leave as above
on **THURSDAY**, at 10 A. M.
oct 12 **IRWIN & FOSTER.**



FOR PITTSBURGH.--The
steamer
FAIRMOUNT,
Poe, master, will leave as above
on **THIS DAY** at 10 A. M.
oct 12 **IRWIN & FOSTER.**



FOR PITTSBURGH.--The
Tuesday Packet
MESSENGER,
_____, master, will leave as above
on **TUESDAY**, at 10 A. M.
oct 12 **IRWIN & FOSTER.**



FOR MEMPHIS.--The Regu-
lar Packet
CLIPPER,
Baldwin, master, will leave as above
on **THIS DAY** 12th inst. at 4 P. M.
oct 12 **IRWIN & FOSTER.**



FOR NEW ORLEANS.--The
steamer
DE WITT CLINTON,
Devinney, master, will leave as above
on **THIS DAY**, at 10 A. M.
oct 12 **IRWIN & FOSTER.**



FOR SAINT LOUIS.--The
steamer
OSWEGO
Smithers, master, will leave as above
on **THIS DAY**, at 10 A. M.
oct 12 **IRWIN & FOSTER.**

ADVERTISEMENTS OF IRWIN & FOSTER
DURING THE PERIOD WHEN "FOSTER" ACTUALLY MEANT
STEPHEN FOSTER.

business that the family packed Stephen off for Cincinnati.²

The prospect there seemed a good one. He was to enter the office of his older brother, Dunning McNair Foster, who was in partnership with Archibald Irwin, Jr.³

Dunning had engaged a room for Stephen in the boarding house where he now lived. This was the home of Mrs. Jane Griffin,⁴ a widow who was a communicant of St. Paul's Church,⁵ a circumstance which, as the Fosters were devout Episcopalians, doubtless pleased Mrs. Foster much better than Dunning's earlier quarters at the Broadway Hotel.⁶ The boarding house was on tree-shaded Fourth Street, in a good neighborhood,* within easy walking distance of the Irwin & Foster office.

2.

The sign Stephen saw as he stood before the door at No. 4 Cassilly's Row, East Front Street, near the wharf, read IRWIN & FOSTER, AGENTS.³ They were designated as commission and forwarding merchants and steamboat agents. Stephen soon learned precisely what that title meant. It meant competition with the half dozen firms³ in Cassilly's Row and other office buildings along the river front for freight and passenger business. Each firm represented several steamboat companies

* This is the present site of the Guilford Public School, Fourth Street between Broadway and Ludlow, and near the University Club.

in soliciting the trade of local manufacturers and merchants and the patronage of the traveling public. The young partners—they were still in their twenties—had made a good start. Dunning Foster, after several years as a clerk on an Ohio River steamboat, had brought river experience as well as good looks and affability to his work as a solicitor.⁷

The energy and stability of Irwin & Foster, however, were supplied by Archibald Irwin, Jr. His father, "Archibald Irwin, Esq.,"⁸ had come from Pennsylvania in the early 'twenties⁹ and had won success as a commission merchant; now he was treasurer of the Little Miami Railroad Company.¹⁰ Archibald, Jr., displayed the Scotch Presbyterian qualities of his father and of their relatives at Pittsburgh, where the Irwins were prominent in industry and in law. He saw to it that Irwin & Foster sailings always had top place in the steamboat advertisements in the newspapers.³ He was a vigorous figure in the movement of the river men in the fall of 1848 to support General Zachary Taylor for the Presidency.¹¹

When the new clerk and bookkeeper turned to the steamboat advertisements in the local newspapers he found that, of nineteen announcements, Irwin & Foster ranked second in number only to Rogers & Sherlock among the local steamboat agents.³ Right at the top of the column were five separate notices that Irwin & Foster boats were sailing for Pittsburgh, St. Louis and points on the Arkansas

River. Later the list expanded to include Louisville, Nashville, Memphis and far-off New Orleans. There must have been fascination for Stephen in these destinations and in the picturesque names of boats which he entered on the bookkeeping ledgers: *Northern Light, Taglioni, Chalmetto, Talisman, Ohio Belle, Planet, Gladiator, Schuylkill, South America, Bolivar, Germantown, Clipper, Messenger, Hibernia, Mary Stevens, Declaration, and Telegraph*.³

The *Telegraph*—bound for the Southland! A melody had been bubbling in Stephen's brain which called itself "Oh! Susanna." So he had the darky narrator of the song shout "I jumped aboard de *Telegraph*."¹² On certain spring mornings as he looked down the olive-green river from the office windows, Stephen would doubtless have liked to jump aboard too.

Then Archibald Irwin or Dunning would hand him bills of lading, mute reminders that passenger travel was only one part of this business and of life; and he would neatly write on the books the shipments for Pittsburgh on the daily packet service: "10 hhds Sugar, 13 sacks Wool, 10 tons Sundries"; "13 brls Potatoes, 25 do Whisky, 20 tons Sundries"; "100 brls Lime, 5 do Alcohol, 2 do Oil, 6 tons Sundries"; and "120 brls Whisky, 18 do Lard Oil, 7 hhds Bees Wax."¹³

With a population which by 1848 reached 110,000¹⁴ Cincinnati had come to hold sway in

the Western country as a center of industry, trade and travel. Archibald, Dunning and Stephen, having cast their lot in this new metropolis, would read with approval such items as a stranger's letter in the *Atlas* testifying to the "cheerfulness in business" which he observed in Cincinnati stores,¹⁵ and the comment in *Cist's Weekly Advertiser*¹⁶ that "great bustle and activity now prevail at all our ship-yards." Because it related to transportation they would be particularly interested in this report in the *Gazette* of December 15, 1846:

The River Packets, Stages and Railroads are bringing in about one thousand per day. Cincinnati possesses so many facilities as a starting point for travellers that many come here from the interior towns below us, where they can select their mode of travel, and depart for the East either by River, Railroad, Stage, or Canal. All the Hotels are constantly full.

This winter activity was sustained in mid-summer, as reported in the *Atlas* of August 18, 1848:

The streets are filled with a moving, restless, busy, industrious population. Hundreds of houses are building. Thousands of wagons are every day in the city, bringing the produce of the country, and transporting merchandise out. . . . Steam-

boats going in all directions—stages, omnibuses, carts, drays and canal boats.

In this general prosperity the firm of Irwin & Foster had their share. Their specialty, the daily packet service between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, flourished. They joined with their neighbors in Cassilly's Row, Athearn & Hibbard, Agents, in representing the Cincinnati and Louisville Line of Packets and jointly advertised two light-draught steamers plying daily between these cities.¹⁷ To those shipping eastward they proudly announced themselves as agents for the "old, established and popular Line, D. Leech & Co.," which transported to Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston. "The old and established character of the Line is a sufficient guarantee to shippers that their interests will be well attended to."¹⁸

3.

When the river packets of Irwin & Foster were due to arrive, Stephen would put down his bookkeeper's quill and, in his capacity as clerk, go from the commission office to the levee.¹⁹ We have his own picture of a packet churning into port. In Stephen's steamboat melody, "The Glendy Burk," he tells in negro dialect that the crew sings "de boatman's song"; that "de smoke goes up and de ingine roars, and de wheel goes round and round." What Stephen saw when he went aboard one

of the big Ohio-Mississippi boats is depicted by Mark Twain who, a decade later (1856-1857) was to live in Cincinnati for a short time, working there as a printer.²⁰ We need only imagine Stephen instead of Mark exploring "a big New Orleans boat." Said Mark:

I began to prow! about the great steamer and fill myself with joy. She was as clean and dainty as a drawingroom; when I looked down her long, gilded saloon, it was like gazing through a splendid tunnel; she had an oil-picture, by some gifted sign-painter, on every stateroom door; she glittered with no end of prism-fringed chandeliers; the clerk's office was elegant; the bar was marvellous. . . . The boilerdeck [i.e., the second story of the boat, so to speak] was as spacious as a church, it seemed to me; so with the forecattle; and there was no pitiful handful of deck-hands, firemen, and roustabouts down there, but a whole battalion of men. The fires were fiercely glaring from a long row of furnaces, and over them were eight huge boilers. This was unutterable pomp.²¹

The pomp and the glory were symbolic of the very real economic importance of the steamboat in that period. RIVER COMMERCE or RIVER INTELLIGENCE was a standing head-

line in every newspaper of towns and cities along the Ohio, the Missouri and the Mississippi; in the lives of their inhabitants The River and all its works and ways bulked large. This was especially true of Cincinnati, jocularly called Porkopolis, because of its great trade in hogs* brought in from the Western and Southwestern farms and shipped from Cincinnati on the river boats.

4.

Dangers and risks abounded in the river traffic, as Irwin & Foster came to realize. The newspapers of the time carried frequent headlines such as these:²³

The steamboat *Wyandotte* was wrecked above Vicksburg on the night of the 21st inst. and will prove a total loss. Thirty of the passengers and crew perished.

Dreadful Steamboat Explosion. . . boilers exploded and twenty-five persons were killed and wounded.

Steamer *St. Joseph* blew up and burnt to the water's edge. 15 killed, 35 scalded.

AWFUL DISASTER—The new steamer *A. N. Johnston* . . . exploded her boiler a few miles above Maysville . . . killing 50 to 60 of her passengers out of 159.

* In the year 1849, 400,000 hogs were slaughtered at Cincinnati.²²

Apart from accidents, there were financial risks for owners and agents of steamboats in routine ways. "Two hundred and fifteen boats lost in five years by *snagging*," reported the *Western Boatman* which then editorially interrogated the government: "Is it not perfectly easy to clear out and keep cleared out nine-tenths of the snags?"²⁴

In the three-party campaign of 1848 the hazards of river traffic became a political issue. The Whig appeal to the voters in river towns and cities was set forth in the leading editorial of the *Cincinnati Gazette* (October 26, 1848) as follows:

Gen. Cass holds it unconstitutional to appropriate the money of the General Government to improve our rivers and harbors. Remember it was under Van Buren's administration that the work was stopped and the boats &c sold. If either of these men are elected President, *not a snag or a sand bar in any of our rivers will be removed!*

Remember that the Whigs and Gen. Taylor are for improving the Rivers and Harbors, and if Taylor is elected the snags will be removed, the shoal places deepened, the harbor made safe. Vote for the man who is in favor of these great interests, of *your great interests*. **TURN OUT AND DO IT.**

After the election the national vote was praised later by the *Gazette* as an "overwhelming and unmistakeable expression of popular favor."²⁵ Locally there were two hundred river men who turned out as an organization of "Steamboat Men and Owners for the support of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore."²⁶ Included in this organization's printed roster were the names "Arch'd Irwin, Jr., D. M. Foster,"²⁶ and Irwin served as a member of the committee which drew up resolutions calling for the election of the Whig candidates "who will remove the dangers and difficulties attending our calling."²⁷

In addition to boiler explosions, collisions and snagging there were troubles for the river men in the annual weather changes, such as the usual winter and spring floods of the rivers. Stephen was to see one of the greatest of these, the flood of December 1847, when the Ohio "rose to 61 feet, six inches above low water mark, and about six inches below the freshet records of 1832."²⁸ The Irwin & Foster advertisements of December 17 announced that "the steamer *South America*, Clarkes, Master, will leave for New Orleans as soon as the stay of water will admit of taking her cargo on board."²⁹ By December 22 the *Gazette* was able to report:

The river has fallen so that Front Street is clear and business has resumed its usual activity. . . . There

were upwards of twenty steamers at the landing last night loading and discharging with great activity.

5.

The newspaper files of March and April, 1849, disclose evidence of the enterprise of Irwin & Foster, when they won out over obstacles. It was the time when the entire country was wild with the fever of California gold. Cincinnati, as an important transportation center, watched thousands of emigrants passing through by wagon, train and boat. A new steamboat had been built at Cincinnati and this the firm of Irwin & Foster took over for a purpose they advertised in the newspapers throughout March, 1849, as follows:³⁰

NOTICE TO CALIFORNIA EMIGRANTS

The fine steamer WEBSTER, Captain Robert Getty, will leave on or about the 15th instant for *Independence, Missouri, direct*. The Missouri river is free from ice and in fine navigable order. As the *Webster* is in all respects a first-class steamer, affording unsurpassed accommodation, we feel no hesitation in recommending her to the travelling public and especially to persons bound to Cali-

fornia. For freight or passage apply to

IRWIN & FOSTER
No. 4 Cassilly's Row,
East Front St.

Or N. Hall & Co.
Fourth Street

In the issue of March 9, 1849, in which the Irwin & Foster advertisement first appeared, the *Atlas* commented that

This will afford a fine opportunity for California emigrants to accomplish the first part of their journey without the inconvenience of delays and the necessity of being constantly obliged to shift their baggage at different points. The *Webster* is a boat of the first class and all who take passage on her will be ensured of a comfortable trip.

Except for the daily packets, steamboats in those days were notoriously late in starting. In this instance the *Webster* did not sail "on or about the 15th instant" because, as RIVER INTELLIGENCE explains, the Ohio and the Missouri had become high because of storms. The newspapers announced sailing dates as March 31, then April 2.

Then, apparently, Irwin & Foster substituted another boat. The advertisements in the newspapers of April 5, 1849, designated the steamer *South America* and enlarged the

destination to include St. Louis and "the Missouri River" as well as Independence. "Shippers and passengers may rely on this boat going through direct." The sailing date was changed from April 5 to April 9 and again to April 10, when at 4 p.m. Captain Logan did take his boat out from Cincinnati with certain California emigrants.³¹

Another activity of Irwin & Foster was the sale of used boats. Their newspaper advertisements from March 9 to April 7, 1848 announced that "we offer for sale a light-draught steamboat, less than one year old and has only run for three months—will carry 200 tons and draws but 18 inches light."³² The firm also served in settling claims, such as the case of the steamer *Hendrik Hudson* in the spring of 1848.³³

6.

These transactions hold interest for us because undoubtedly Stephen Foster had a part in them. From the first he strove to fulfil the hopes of his family at home. Stories about him as a dreamy youth bungling his work and jotting musical themes on bookkeeping ledgers possess no factual or logical basis. We have it on the testimony of a friend, Robert P. Nevin,³⁴ that Stephen discharged "the duties of his place with faithfulness and ability," and on the testimony of his older brother, Morrison Foster, that he "was a beautiful accountant

and his books kept at that time are models of neatness and accuracy.”³⁵

There was a twelve-month period—the latter half of 1847 and the first half of 1848—when the announcements of Irwin & Foster, Agents, really meant Archibald Irwin, Jr., and Stephen Foster. That was when Dunning was absent during the Mexican War and his share in the work of the office was carried by Stephen ³⁶

CHAPTER III

TURMOIL AND CALM ORDER

"The generalized history of an epoch sadly misrepresents the real individual feelings of the quiet people in back streets and in country towns."—A. N. Whitehead

THE late 'forties in America were marked by war, pestilence and the emigrant rush to the West. The influence of each upon Stephen appears to have been small. His interest in the Mexican War was manifested in a single musical composition, a "quick-step" for military bands celebrating General Taylor's victory at Buena Vista. During the widespread cholera epidemic of 1849, Stephen included a line for the assurance of his mother in a letter to his brother Morrison:¹ "Tell Ma she need not trouble herself about the health of Cincinnati, as our weather is very healthy."* Later the city had many cases of cholera, and in the hot month of July 1849 "long funerals blackened all the way."² Stephen himself suffered from "'fever and ague,' possibly a malarial condition."³ As for the emigrants bound for the California gold fields Stephen heard them singing, as they passed through the city, their own

* "There is not a single case of cholera in Cincinnati."—*The Atlas*, April 9, 1849.

words to his music of "Oh! Susanna." They did not lure him; the gold he sought lay elsewhere.

Scrambling and unquiet as was this war and pioneer time, there were other aspects of life in Cincinnati quite the reverse. As the newspapers reveal, periods of calm order intervened, as typified by the *Gazette's* report of a day which was a most important occasion for Stephen—his twenty-first birthday anniversary, July 4, 1847. To celebrate he had a choice of Independence Day events extending from morning exercises with an oration by the Reverend Mr. Boynton to a display of fireworks at Shires Garden in the evening "far excelling anything of the kind before witnessed in the city." Said the *Gazette*: "The streets were filled with well-dressed, quiet and orderly people. We witnessed no quarrellings and hardly a case of drunkenness throughout the day. The chief subject of complaint was the thoughtless audacity of boys throwing their crackers and serpents into the streets filled with crowds of children and horses."⁴

As the present narrative will disclose, life in Cincinnati meant social activity, lectures, concerts and theatrical plays. The influences that molded Stephen Foster were no extraordinary events. They were rather the resources this city gave him, in friendships and in environment, to develop as a poet and as a composer of music which both represents and transcends his times.

CHAPTER IV

FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES

“Dear friends and gentle hearts.”

—Words on a slip of paper found
in Stephen Foster’s purse at his death.

I.

WHEN the slender young clerk of Irwin & Foster knelt at the services in Christ Church or St. Paul’s, the supplication for all sorts and conditions of men had a living meaning for him. Stephen Foster possessed a love of human kind to which his songs bear perpetual testimony.

So, though far removed from being hail-fellow, well-met, Stephen reached quick acquaintance with the human types making up the motley life of Cincinnati along the river front and in the commercial district. He was familiar with toiling and roistering America of this era. For such audiences he composed his early minstrel melodies. He came into touch also with the upper levels of the prosperous Queen City, the people who ambitiously reproduced the social life and graces of the South and maintained the literary, dramatic and musical standards of the Eastern seaboard cities. For such hearers he wrote his early ballads of romantic sentiment.

It is because of the human note in his songs that we find special interest in the youthful associations which appealed to his tenderness and affection. Stephen's Cincinnati years formed, in truth, an extension of the acquaintanceships and friendships of his boyhood and early youth at Pittsburgh. Family and friends had always counted tremendously with the Fosters. Throughout their varieties of financial experience, William B. Foster and Eliza Tomlinson Foster and their children kept their pride in ancestry which included persons of consequence from Revolutionary days to the Civil War.* In the *Reminiscences* she wrote and read to her grandchildren, Eliza Foster described glowingly the weddings and receptions she attended in the prominent homes of Pittsburgh.¹

As a boy Stephen had been a leader among his schoolmates in juvenile minstrel shows and concerts; and in his later 'teens he continued leadership in a club and singing society, the "Knights of the S. T." His talents as a flute player and composer of several songs were acclaimed.²

2.

Old acquaintance was by no means forgotten when Stephen entered upon his work

* Genealogical facts as to the Fosters, the Barclays, the Tomlinsons and the Claylands were given by Morrison Foster in his sketch *My Brother Stephen*. Additional material will be presented in *Chronicles of the Foster Family*, now being prepared by Mrs. Evelyn Foster Morneweck of Detroit, Michigan.

in the steamboat commission office at Cincinnati. "Friends of all the Foster boys" were a certain group of young ladies of Pittsburgh, and, as his niece, Mrs. Evelyn Foster Morneweck relates, Stephen "seems to have been greatly attached to all of them."³ He had earlier [1844] dedicated his first song "Open Thy Lattice, Love" to Miss Susan, the thirteen-year-old daughter of Captain Ephraim Pentland, who lived next door to the Fosters. To another "fair and sprightly" miss three years older, Mary M. Dallas, daughter of Judge T. B. Dallas, Stephen while at Cincinnati dedicated two compositions, "Ah May the Red Rose Live Alway" and "Soirée Polka." Mary Dallas died in her youth, as did Mary D. Keller, another Pittsburgh girl whose name he placed on two title-pages: "There's a Good Time Coming" and "Where is Thy Spirit, Mary?" He did the same for "beautiful Julia Murray," daughter of the Honorable Magnus Murray, former mayor of Pittsburgh, the song being "Wilt Thou Be Gone, Love?" Julia was for a time engaged to Stephen's brother Morrison, but she married John K. Le Moyne of Baltimore.¹

Among his musical posies for home-town friends, special interest attaches (see Chapter VIII) to the song Stephen dedicated to Mary H. Irwin, daughter of the Honorable Thomas Irwin, district judge of the United States Court at Pittsburgh.¹ We can imagine that the clerk of Irwin & Foster took occasion to

drop in, one evening in 1847, at the boarding house of Archibald Irwin, Jr., and hand him a copy of "What Must a Fairy's Dream Be?", just off the press of Peters & Field. Archibald could observe the compliment to his young kinswoman on a title-page grand in ornate script and flourishes: "Ballad, Written & Composed for and respectfully Dedicated to Miss Mary H. Irwin by Stephen C. Foster."

3.

Who were the friends and acquaintances of Stephen Foster in Cincinnati? He wrote few letters and he kept no diary. Nevertheless, from contemporary sources freshly investigated, there emerges out of the past a considerable company of those whom Stephen certainly knew, others whom he probably knew, and still others whom he manifestly knew about. They form a typical portrait gallery of the time and place.⁴

Down this aisle are clean-shaven gentlemen of the 'forties wearing buff or blue waistcoats and white cravats or shirt-frills: such names as Michael P. Cassilly, merchant and real estate owner; William B. Cassilly, his son and successor; James C. Hall,* produce merchant and president of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce; Robert Buchanan,* commission merchant and active member of Christ Church; General William Haines Lytle, lead-

* James C. Hall and Robert Buchanan were friends of Stephen's father whom he gave as business references.

ing attorney; W. D. Gallagher and E. D. Mansfield, influential journalists and literary figures; W. C. Peters, Joel D. Field, and T. B. Mason, music publishers; John B. Russell, job printing superintendent.

Down the next aisle are representatives of the pioneer transportation group: such names as Colonel John B. McClelland, official of the Little Miami Railroad; Colonel A. G. Sloo; Captain R. G. Baldwin, of the steamboat *Clipper*; Captain Robert Getty, of the steamboat *Webster*; Cons. Miller, river editor of the *Gazette*; Ira Athearn, Samuel P. Hibberd, and Archibald Irwin, Jr., steamboat agents.

Here is an aisle exhibiting woodcuts of black-face singers in gaudy costumes having tamborines, banjos and "bones" raised as the theater curtain goes up: old-time minstrels such as "Daddy" Rice, George N. Christy, William Roark, M. J. Tichenor, Joseph Murphy, and Nelson Kneass. The actual homes of these wandering minstrels were varied, but no community of the Western country saw or heard them oftener than did Cincinnati.

Finally there is a Jim Crow aisle in this picture gallery of the 'forties in which the names are fictional but their darky prototypes are as real as the Ohio River and the plantations of the Southland: Susanna, Nelly Bly, Lemuel, Brudder Gum, Dolly Day, and Angelina Baker.

Some of these friends and acquaintances we shall bow to in subsequent chapters. We are ready now to meet a select few.

4.

Stephen's oldest friend in Cincinnati was that picturesque figure, Michael P. Cassilly, veteran merchant, then well past seventy and living very comfortably in retirement with his wife, Sophia B. Cassilly. Cassilly typified the pioneer stock that had made the earlier West. Born in Ireland in 1774,⁵ he had come to the United States with the wave of Irish emigrants at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and had settled in Western Pennsylvania. After living in Pittsburgh, where they were intimate friends of Mr. and Mrs. William B. Foster,⁶ the Cassillys moved to Cincinnati in the late 'twenties. For a short time Cassilly was in partnership with Joseph Thompson, but after 1831 for many years he was in business alone, a dry goods merchant.⁷ Cassilly became a prosperous citizen. His real estate holdings included the large office building at Broadway and Front Street, known as Cassilly's Row.⁸ This was the building in which Stephen sat at his bookkeeper's desk in the office of Irwin & Foster. In 1847 Cassilly was honored when, as the *Gazette* reported,⁹ "the first brig ever built in the Queen City of the West" was given the name *M. P. Cassilly*.

Concerning Mrs. Cassilly we learn from the records of the First Presbyterian Church of

Cincinnati that, along with ninety-six other members, she was granted by the elders a certificate of dismission "to unite in the organization of the [Seventh] Presbyterian Church in this city."¹⁰ She survived her husband, who died in 1854, aged eighty.¹¹

Michael and Sophia Cassilly had a son, William B. Cassilly, who succeeded his father in the dry goods business and then became a member of the firm of Taylor & Cassilly, commission and forwarding merchants, Cincinnati and New Orleans.¹² In September 1849 he took office as city recorder.¹³

It was the daughter of the Cassillys, Ann Cassilly Marshall, and their granddaughter, Sophia B. Marshall, whom Stephen came to know particularly well. Mrs. Marshall was now a widow. Her husband, Dr. Vincent C. Marshall,¹⁴ a native of Pennsylvania, had been a prominent practitioner in Cincinnati for many years, having offices at Broadway and Fifth Street along with Dr. Charles L'H. Avery.¹⁴ Dr. Marshall was an Episcopalian, a communicant of Christ Church;¹⁵ and his wife, who had been a member of the First Presbyterian Church, transferred to Christ Church in April 1843. The Christ Parish records¹⁶ show that Sophia, or Sophie, as she was generally called, was a communicant member also.

As a letter of Stephen's brother Dunning indicates,¹⁷ the Marshall home became a center of youthful gayety. Dunning wrote:

We had quite a time last night at Mrs. Marshall's where we had a masked party, and an interesting and amusing one it was. All characters from the Roman Senator to the bat in the play of "Fair One With Golden Locks" were there to speak for themselves. My character was a Mexican soldier with the last remnants of a uniform and less of a face, all of which gave us a most pleasant evening and most agreeable entertainment. I have entered considerably into the fashionable world again, and may now be put down as one of the beaux (not b'hoys!) of Cincinnati; which reputation I do not covet, but as I am amused, I shall not quarrel about names.

Stephen was not in Cincinnati at this particular time. Even had he been, he might not have attended this masked party because, as his brother Morrison later said, "it was difficult to get him to go into society at all."¹⁸ Morrison added however that Stephen "was not at all unsocial and willingly sang or played for the enjoyment of himself or others, if the occasions were spontaneous."¹⁸

Such occasions presented themselves at the Marshall home. Sophie Marshall, who was "a great favorite in society," possessed "a beautiful soprano voice and sang with much sweet-

ness and taste.”¹⁹ She used her lovely voice and her musical understanding to help the bookkeeper composer of Irwin & Foster when he came to try out his new songs.

One evening in the late summer of 1847 Stephen sat at the piano in the Marshall parlor and placed before her a manuscript ballad which was to bear, on its title-page, the words “written & composed for & inscribed to Miss Sophie B. Marshall.”²⁰ These were the words Sophie sang:

STAY SUMMER BREATH

Summer breath, summer breath, whispering low,
Wand’ring in darkness, where would’st thou go?
Wilt thou not linger and perfume the night,
With the fragrance thou’st gather’d in regions of light?

Dost sigh for the rose, would’st thou visit her bower,
Or sport with the mist till the coming of day;
Or art thou seeking some modest wild flower,
Whose beauty is gone with sun’s parting ray?

Summer breath, summer breath, woo not the rose,
There lies the dew drop in blissful repose,
Nestling together, they know not of death;
Would’st waft them asunder? Stay summer breath.

Stay for the vapours above yonder fountain,
Will shun thy caresses, they love not the air,
And all the wild flowers that bloom on the mountain,
Will shrink from thy kiss, summer breath, go not there!

These verses and the dedication represented, of course, not personal love but, as did his other songs and dedications, the convention-

ally romantic outpouring of an aspiring poet and song-writer. Sophie* and the other girls, we may be sure, quite understood.

Among the others in Cincinnati who shared Stephen's friendship was Eliza Russell, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John B. Russell. At their pleasant house on Fourth Street the latchstring was always out. The Russells were lovers of music, and dark-eyed, dark-haired Eliza† would play the piano when Stephen dropped in of an evening.²¹ At that time John Russell was superintendent of the job department of the *Cincinnati Gazette*.²² His place among the literati of the city was shown when he was elected to the executive council of the Cincinnati Historical Society.²³ Stephen, who humorously acknowledged his weakness in spelling,²⁴ could have taken lessons from Russell of whom it was said in later years, when he entered the government service in Washington, that his department didn't need a dictionary; they had Russell.²¹ We know that he held Stephen in high regard. He praised him for his "most amiable character and the modesty allied to true genius."²⁵ Russell heartily approved of Stephen's writing his own

* The Christ Church records show that Sophia B. Marshall was married on October 18, 1852, to "Henry I. Miller, gas manufacturer, at Mrs. Marshall's, 4th St., Cincinnati, Rev. Dudley A. Tyng (Rector)."

† Eliza Russell in later years married a Mr. Ostrom. Photographs of her and of John B. Russell are exhibited in the Foster Memorial Room, University of Cincinnati Library, the gift of Miss Mary G. Russell of Cincinnati.

words for his melodies and declared that "it is this intimate connexion between his poetry and music that gives such a charm to his compositions."²⁵ It was Russell who introduced Stephen to another Cincinnati qualified to appreciate Stephen's poetical and musical powers—that dignitary of the *Gazette* editorial office, William D. Gallagher. Facts concerning Gallagher and his local and regional importance will be given in a later chapter. Stephen dedicated a song to him.

The dedication of another song reveals another friend. He was Samuel P. Thompson,²⁶ a young fellow who lived at Mrs. Griffin's boarding house. We know that he was employed as a clerk and that he was a Presbyterian. Stephen showed his esteem by dedicating to him his musical setting of a song entitled "Summer Longings."²⁷

A friend of Stephen in the local publishing field was William C. Peters, a publisher himself and also a member of the firm of Peters & Field, music dealers and publishers. In addition to business matters they had family memories as a bond, for Peters had been a friend of the Fosters when he lived at Pittsburgh.²⁸ He later declared that he was "one of the first to discover the extraordinary talent of Mr. Foster," and that he was "from first to last his firm friend and adviser."²⁵

Among the minstrel performers with whom Stephen had professional dealings (see Chapter VII), was William Roark, "who lives in our

city.”²⁹ Two other residents whom Stephen doubtless knew were the musicians who, it is recorded, presented his song “Old Uncle Ned” prior to its publication by Peters & Field. The song was given “at a concert in Cincinnati by Pond, McCann and others in 1845 [and] was enthusiastically received.”²⁵ This Pond was H. Augustus Pond,²² a music master living near Stephen’s boarding house. Pond composed music upon which the *Gazette* commented that it was “good, though somewhat difficult.” The second musician cited was J. H. McCann, the author of “Mother Dear,” “The Night! Oh the Night for Me” and other songs published by Peters & Field.³⁰

CHAPTER V

THE QUEEN CITY OF THE WEST

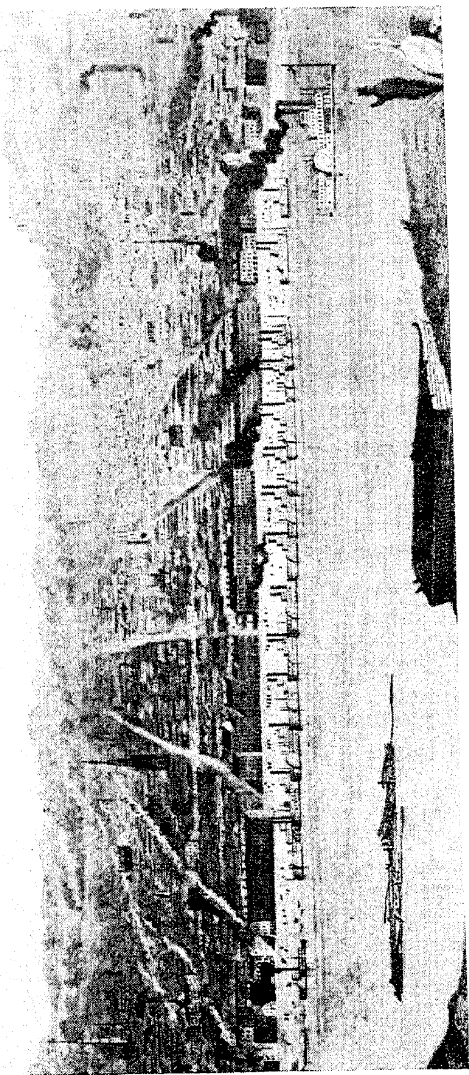
"The City of Cincinnati.—A beautiful illustration of the cooperation between nature and art."—Daniel Webster.

I.

AFTER adolescent difficulties made more difficult by a loving family out of sympathy with his musical aspirations, Stephen was finding himself. He had the good fortune now to be on his own in a city whose cultural resources and standards were at once a discipline and a stimulus. Because environment counts so vitally in creative work, it is pertinent to sketch the background which became Stephen's heritage.

In the era of the 'forties Cincinnati seemed a venerable city. It was more than a half century old, founded at the close of the Revolutionary War and named in honor of those officers of General Washington who formed the Society of the Cincinnati.¹ Geographical situation and economic forces formed the foundation, but it was the character of its inhabitants which, upon that foundation, built the commercial and cultural importance of the city.

From its early days Cincinnati had men of energy and shrewdness so that, as James



CINCINNATI OF THE LATE 'FORTIES

AS SEEN FROM THE KENTUCKY SHORE OF THE OHIO RIVER.

From an old print.

Parton, a later commentator summarized,² the city "imported or made nearly all that the people of three or four States could afford to buy, and received from them nearly all they could spare in return and made a profit on both transactions. This business, upon the whole, was done honestly and well."

As to the ancestral homes of Cincinnati's pioneer population, Dr. Daniel Drake chronicled in 1815:³ "To England, Ireland, Germany, Scotland, France and Holland, we are most indebted." By 1840 the Germans comprised the largest single element;* and the roster of States⁴ from which Cincinnatians hailed was headed by Pennsylvania for the Middle Atlantic States, Massachusetts for New England, and Virginia and Kentucky for the South.

The manners of the early conglomerate population did not please the English novelist Mrs. Frances Trollope, who resided in Cincinnati in 1828:⁵ "I never saw any people who lived so much without amusements as the Cincinnatians. . . . They have no public balls, excepting, I think, six during the Christmas holidays. They have no concerts. They have no dinner parties."

Such social deficiencies were soon met. By 1831 Timothy Walker, arriving from Cam-

* "The German population must now number more than 20,000 within the city."—*The Atlas*, September 4, 1848. "Roman Catholics form . . . the fourth part of the population."—*Gazette*, January 11, 1848. There were about 3,000 Jews, according to *The Atlas*, September 23, 1848.

bridge, Massachusetts, made this entry in his journal:⁶ "I am delighted with this beautiful city. It seems the work of enchantment"; and in 1834 another Eastern visitor, James Fenno Hoffman, exclaimed:⁶ "Nothing can be more agreeable than the society one meets in the gay drawing rooms."

Since one English novelist has been quoted, the comment of another no less critical of American manners is pertinent, particularly because it describes Cincinnati at substantially the time Stephen Foster lived there.

Said Charles Dickens in his *American Notes*, 1843:⁷

Cincinnati is a beautiful city; cheerful, thriving and animated. I have not often seen a place that commends itself so favorably and pleasantly to a stranger at the first glance as this does, with its clean houses of red and white, its well paved roads, and footways of bright tile. Nor does it become less prepossessing on a closer acquaintance. The streets are broad and airy, the shops extremely good, the private residences remarkable for their elegance and neatness. There is something of invention and fancy in the varying styles of these latter erections which, after the dull company of the steamboat, is perfectly delightful, as conveying an assurance that there are such qualities

still in existence. The disposition to ornament these pretty villas and render them attractive leads to the culture of trees and flowers, and the laying out of well kept gardens, the sight of which, to those who walk along the streets, is inexpressibly refreshing and agreeable.

I was quite charmed with the appearance of the town and its adjoining suburb of Mount Auburn, from which the city, lying in an amphitheater of hills, forms a picture of remarkable beauty.

2.

There was another side of the picture that was not so attractive. Commenting on criticisms of littered thoroughfares, E. D. Mansfield admitted in the editorial columns of the *Atlas*⁸ that "our streets are not kept as clean and pleasant as they ought to be." Harriet Beecher Stowe⁹ told of the muddy road up to Mount Auburn, rejoicing that it was muddy for a sad reason: it kept the hoodlums of the city from attacking Lane Theological Seminary when they thought runaway slaves were hidden there.

No faithful picture of Cincinnati of the 'forties and 'fifties could omit reference¹⁰ to certain disgraceful disturbances—the race riots of 1841, the bank riot of 1842, the war-time riots of 1848, and the riots of 1853 and 1855.

There were greed, hate, and violence in America of that era and Cincinnati had its share of all. Having said this, it may be said further that the city stood out in battling vulgarity and materialism and in fostering fineness in the things of the spirit. Facts about Cincinnati's contributions in music, literature, and public and social life will be set forth specifically because they influenced the work of Stephen Foster.

3.

International and national issues* as well as state and local affairs were presented with amazing fullness in the Cincinnati newspapers of the 'forties. Citizens read and discussed. It was a period of public gatherings† for all sorts of causes.

Meeting the eyes of Stephen Foster and thousands of others scanning the daily papers were the names of citizens who led in matters of public spirit; and some of these names retain broad interest today.

Here, in the *Gazette*,¹¹ was an open letter from Nicholas Longworth, lawyer and horti-

* There were abundant items regarding events in England, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal and Belgium. When, for example, Macaulay retired from public life in 1849, *The Atlas* quoted in full his Glasgow address (April 19, 1849).

† Such as meetings and concerts for the benefit of the poor in Ireland and in Scotland, Whig and Democratic gatherings, temperance rallies, sessions of the Chamber of Commerce, Horticultural Society, Young Men's Mercantile Library Association, etc., etc. The now famous Literary Club was founded in October 1849.

culturist,‡ instructing his fellow-citizens about grape cultivation. After importing many European grapes, Longworth had made a huge success with the native Catawba. It was a gift from his vineyards that caused Henry Wadsworth Longfellow to write his poem, "Catawba Wine," with this tribute to Cincinnati:¹²

And this song of the Vine
This greeting of mine,
The winds and the birds shall deliver
To the Queen of the West
In her garlands dressed
On the banks of the Beautiful River.

A young lawyer increasingly in the public eye in the late 'forties was Alphonso Taft, ¶ who had a law office then with Thomas M. Key and Patrick Mellon on Third Street.¹⁴ Graduated at Yale in 1833, he had taught school in Connecticut, had been admitted to the bar, and was already on his way to the success he visioned when he chose the West for his career.

The local papers regularly carried advertisements of two enterprising manufacturers who

‡Nicholas Longworth (1782-1863), "lawyer, millionaire, patron of the arts," was the great-grandfather of Nicholas Longworth (1869-1931), Speaker of the House of Representatives, and of Clara Longworth DeChamburn, Shakespearean student.¹³

¶ Alphonso Taft (1810-1891) later "judge, Secretary of War, Attorney General, diplomat," was the father of William Howard Taft, President of the United States and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Charles P. Taft, publisher and philanthropist; Peter R. Taft, industrialist; Henry W. Taft, lawyer; and Horace D. Taft, headmaster of the Taft School.

had entered into partnership at Cincinnati a decade before—William Procter,* a native of Herefordshire, England, and James Gamble,* whose birthplace was County Fermanagh, Ireland. Their announcement¹⁵ read: "PROCTER & GAMBLE. Soap and Candle Manufacturers and Starch Factors. No. 224 Main Street, Cincinnati."

Among the numerous public lectures delivered in the city none was more popular than the series on astronomy by Professor Ormsby M. Mitchel,† graduate of the United States Military Academy, long a faculty member of the Cincinnati College. He was foremost in establishing the Cincinnati Observatory,§ for which the address at the laying of the cornerstone in 1842 was given by former President John Quincy Adams.¹⁷

For a year at the end of the 'forties Dr. Daniel Drake‡ returned to Cincinnati after a long period in Louisville, to preside over the Ohio Medical College,§ which he founded in 1819—the oldest medical school west of the Allegheny Mountains. A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, his work in the West as a scientist and physician attained fame throughout the country.

* William Procter (1801-1884). James Gamble (1803-1891).¹⁶

† Ormsby M. Mitchel (1809-1862).

§ The Cincinnati Observatory, the Ohio Medical College and the Cincinnati Law School are now the Cincinnati Observatory, the College of Medicine and the College of Law of the University of Cincinnati.

‡ Dr. Daniel Drake (1785-1852).¹⁸

Reports of civic meetings those days usually carried the name of Judge Timothy Walker.* He and another Harvard graduate, John C. Wright, established in 1833 the first college of law west of the Alleghenies, the Cincinnati Law School;§ and he later founded the *Western Law Journal*. At the Walker house on Fourth Street, Charles Dickens, Chief Justice Coleridge, Mr. Macready, the actor, and many another distinguished visitor to Cincinnati were entertained.⁶

4.

Thanks to the profits of industry and trade but equally to the character of its citizens, Cincinnati of the 'forties and 'fifties enjoyed a cultural and social life comparable to the leading cities of the Atlantic seaboard. It was famous for its several colleges and fifteen schools;† for its astronomical observatory; for its thirty-five newspapers and magazines;‡ for its half-dozen books and music publishing houses; and especially significant for the young bookkeeper of Irwin & Foster, the city had

* Timothy Walker (1806-1856).¹⁹

† These included Cincinnati College, St. Xavier College (now Xavier University), Woodward College and High School, Lane Theological Seminary, colleges of law and medicine, four academies and classical schools, and eleven common schools.²⁰ Charles Dickens wrote in *American Notes*: "Cincinnati is honorably famous for its free-schools . . . ; no person's child among its population can, by possibility, want the means of education."

‡ In addition to four or five newspapers, there were literary, religious, fraternal, medical, and trade journals, which had editorial and publication offices in Cincinnati.²⁰

three concert halls and three theaters where there were abundant offerings in music and in the drama.

We can imagine how pleasing to Stephen were these cultural and artistic advantages. He was, as his brother Morrison testified, "very fond of the society of cultured people and men of genius in walks entirely different from his own."²¹ It was characteristic that, in later years, he treasured a letter praising his songs sent to him by Washington Irving.²²

In the literary group at Cincinnati during the 'forties, genius was represented by the women: there were actually three who were to win recognition in the history of American literature: the Cary sisters and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Of Alice Cary's prose studies *Clovernook*, Whittier said,²³ "They bear the true stamp of genius." When Alice and her younger sister Phoebe brought out their *Poems*, the critics of the East were enthusiastic. Cincinnati readers of the *New York Home Journal*—and we know Stephen Foster was one of them—must have taken pride in this editorial reference in the issue of June 9, 1849:

Alice and Phoebe Cary reside upon some "mount of song" in the vicinity of Cincinnati where, the papers tell us, they were recently visited by our neighbor, the pilgrim philosopher of *The Tribune*. Mr. Greely will, per-

haps, advise us whether their faces are as beautiful as their verses.

The Cary girls²⁴ were the daughters of a transplanted Yankee, Robert Cary, who in 1803 came to the Northwest Territory and later took up a farm in the outskirts of Cincinnati.

Of New England ancestry and tradition also was the third celebrity, the daughter of the Reverend Lyman Beecher²⁵ who in 1832 moved from Boston to Cincinnati to become president of the Lane Theological Seminary. Harriet taught school in Cincinnati, and in 1836 married a young professor in the seminary, Calvin Ellis Stowe. Encouraged by E. D. Mansfield, she wrote stories to supplement the family income, absorbing all the while, in visits to Kentucky across the river, the background material which later was to appear in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

That the young bookkeeper of Irwin & Foster knew personally the Carys and the Beechers and the Stowes would seem doubtful. However, with his own poetic aspirations, Stephen would surely read with eager interest the poems of the Cary sisters accepted by the Eastern magazines and reprinted in the local newspapers with due credit. As to Harriet Beecher Stowe, whether he was acquainted with her or not, he was surely more than acquainted with her *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the novel which, as set forth elsewhere in this

chronicle, obviously suggested Stephen's "My Old Kentucky Home."

In the local society of cultured people there were two literary men whom Stephen particularly admired. One of these was his friend, William D. Gallagher. Poet, literary critic, and public official, Gallagher exerted a formative influence upon letters in the Middle West comparable to that of leading New England poets and critics.²⁶ He was the first president of the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, secretary of the Amateur Musical Society, and an active figure in all cultural enterprises. During the 'forties, when he was assistant editor and then associate editor of the *Daily Gazette*, his Saturday "Miscellany" was a literary feature. He reviewed the important books, both British and American. Nearly every issue contained a poem which he selected from a wide range of publications; and numerous verses of his own, first appearing in national magazines, were reprinted. The *Gazette* was dotted with news of drama and of music. In all probability it was Gallagher who wrote the item* concerning Stephen's "sweet little melody," entitled "Open Thy Lattice, Love." To show his appreciation Stephen dedicated his song, "Lily Ray," to Gallagher.

The other celebrity whom Stephen greatly admired was Edward D. Mansfield,²⁷ a graduate of both the United States Military Acad-

* See Chapter x, p. 90.

emy† at West Point and the College of New Jersey at Princeton. After practising law and serving as professor of history in Cincinnati College, Mansfield became editor of the *Cincinnati Chronicle* and then of the *Daily Atlas*. His regular "E.D.M." correspondence on political and economic conditions, published in the *Atlas* and concurrently in the *New York Times* under the pseudonym of "Veteran Observer," won him a national reputation. Stephen paid tribute to him, in a letter to his brother Morrison, as "the editor whom I consider the most powerful and talented writer in the West."²⁸

5.

Into the making of Stephen Foster's early ballads of romantic sentiment as well as his minstrel songs went the influences of what he called "our city."²⁹ In those days the street on which he lived, Fourth Street,* with "the fine rows of trees that line its sides,"³⁰ was acclaimed "one of the most beautiful avenues in the United States."³⁰

We can fancy Stephen strolling in the early evening on this and other residential streets with their brick mansions, gardens and shaded walks, and rejoicing, as did the New England correspondent who earlier wrote that "Cincinnati . . . has all the air and manner of an old place."³¹

† Mansfield delivered the Annual Address at West Point in June 1847 (*Gazette*, June 29, 1847).

* A local musician, C. P. Winkler, wrote a composition in honor of it, called "Fourth Street Waltz."³²

CHAPTER VI
IN OLD KENTUCKY

"The sun shines bright."—
"My Old Kentucky Home."
—Stephen Foster

I.

THE air and manner of Cincinnati included something of the old South. Kentucky was just across the river,¹ and leading Kentucky families had a marked influence in the social life of the Queen City, as did its Virginia element. Typical was the diary entry of Margaret Rives King: "Our home on Race Street, above Fourth, was noted for its Southern hospitality, gracious ways and all the indescribable elegancies of a well appointed table."²

To Cincinnati as a starting point came travellers bound for the East and these numbered many from Southern towns, cities and plantations³ as far away as New Orleans. When the New Orleans and Louisville packets puffed up the river, the young employee of Irwin & Foster, agents for these packets, had abundant opportunity and business occasion to go aboard and observe the fashionable Southern ladies and gentlemen who journeyed as passengers. Stephen was alert to the flavor of aristocracy; he used it in his romantic bal-

lads and as an undertone in his plantation melodies. On these boats from the South he could talk with negroes of the crew and obtain that feeling, at once colorful and tuneful, for "de cotton-field, de shubble and de hoe,"⁴ presented in "Foster's Plantation Melodies, as sung by . . . New Orleans Serenaders."

Negro life was before Stephen constantly during his Cincinnati years. He had only to look out from the windows of the commission office to see the roustabouts on the levee and to hear them singing at their work. Not far away was the negro section of the city for whose population there was a separate listing in the early Cincinnati directories. He could know at first hand the bricks, cinders, stones, and likewise the mud when Dolcy Jones, in Stephen's amusing song, warns her suitor to bring his boots along. And we are privileged to guess that Stephen caught the inspiration for "Oh! Susanna" when, some mild spring evening, he went aboard a New Orleans steamboat, out from the levee, and heard some "woolly-headed" Lemuel among the deckhands serenade his Deep South lady-love with his banjo on his knee.

2.

Although Stephen did not look upon the cotton-fields of the Deep South until his New Orleans trip by steamboat in 1852, he could see true Southern plantations in nearby Kentucky during his Cincinnati residence. Here

was background material for the song, "Away Down South," which he sent on to his brother Morrison in the summer of 1847 for a prize competition at Pittsburgh; and also for four songs of "Foster's Plantation Melodies," later sung by Christy's Minstrels: "Oh Lemuel," "Dolly Day," "Gwine to Run All Night," and "Angelina Baker."

Where did Stephen get his idea for the third melody of this series, the hilarious "Gwine to Run All Night or De Camptown Races"? Cincinnati had a "Queen City Course" where later were advertised "one-mile heats in harness—best three in five, \$50 a side."⁵ The great event of the section, however, to which racing enthusiasts flocked, were the races of the Louisville Jockey Club.* For the last day of the 1847 season, Saturday, October 9, there was an excursion for Cincinnatians, advertised as follows:⁶

FOR THE LOUISVILLE RACES.

—The steamer *Pike No. 7* leaves Friday 8th inst. at 5 p.m. and returns from Louisville on Saturday evening, 9th inst. after the races. . . . Those who go on her will lose but one day.

So, to Louisville may be due the suggestion for "de long tail filly and de big black horse"

* In his song, "Away Down South," Stephen wrote:

"We'll put for de souf

Ah! dat's the place

For the steeple chase and de bully hoss race."

and "I go back home wid a pocket full of tin." As for the "Camptown race-track five miles long" on which the bob-tail nag wins "a ten-mile heat," that is the exaggeration of early American humor† illustrated also in the weather changes in "Oh! Susanna."

3.

It was doubtless while he was a Cincinnati resident that Stephen made the journeys to Federal Hill, Bardstown, summer home of the Rowan family, referred to by Morrison Foster when he noted that "Judge Rowan was his father's cousin" and that Stephen was "only an occasional visitor at Federal Hill."⁷ Judge Rowan had been United States Senator from Kentucky, Kentucky Supreme Court Judge, and commissioner to define the Mexican boundary. His son, John Rowan, Jr., served as Minister to the Two Sicilies, upon appointment of President Polk.⁸ Relatives of the Rowans by marriage were the family of General William Haines Lytle,⁹ who then lived on Fourth Street.

It would be natural that Stephen should wish to visit his distant kinsfolk, the aristocratic Rowans at Bardstown. Such journeys would not be formidable: an overnight packet trip from Cincinnati to Louisville and then

† "Gladstone, who was always fond of music, is now quite enthusiastic about negro melodies, singing them with the greatest spirit and enjoyment, never leaving out a verse, and evidently preferring such as 'Camp Down [*sic*] Races.'"—The Right Hon. Earl of Malmsbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*.¹⁰

stagecoach travel to Bardstown. Seated on top with the driver Stephen would admire the charming Kentucky countryside and he might recall that newspaper editor's jingle¹¹ quoted in the *Gazette* last week:

Some love to ride
When the river's wide
On a steamboat whistling free;
But a prancing team—
Strong axle beam,
And a whirl in the stage for me.

Arrived at the stately brick house of the Rowans, "set on a hill in the shade of heaven-tree and pine,"¹² Stephen would enjoy Kentucky hospitality; and he may have remembered the family story that in this house his sister Charlotte, on a visit twenty years before, had received a proposal of marriage from John Rowan, Jr.¹³

The marriage theme was later to bind Stephen to Bardstown in legendary fashion. Unhappily the tradition that he journeyed to Federal Hill while on his wedding trip in 1850 was blighted by the discovery in 1934 of a letter of Stephen's showing that Jane MacDowell Foster and he went to Baltimore and New York City on their honeymoon.¹⁴ However, it is not poetic license to accept the likelihood that in this idyllic spot Stephen obtained his love for Kentucky when summer ripened the corn tops, made the meadows bloom, and brought gayety to darkies and their masters. Wherever "My Old Kentucky

Home" was actually written, Kentucky* has every sentimental right to its official State song.

4.

It is most probable that the genesis of the song traces back to a great novel of the era, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.^{*} Both were written in the early 'fifties, but both had their origin in material drawn by their authors from Ohio-Kentucky backgrounds in Cincinnati days before 1850.

Harriet Beecher Stowe was a Cincinnati resident during the 1846-1850 period when Stephen was there, and for fourteen years earlier. In her account of how she came to write *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Mrs. Stowe recorded that she "had for many years lived in Ohio on the confines of a slavery State, and had thus been made familiar with facts and occurrences in relation to the institution of American slavery."¹⁷ Concerning Kentucky and its people she wrote in friendly fashion, showing certain of the slaveholders there as

* It is quite possible that Stephen was familiar also with a different section of Kentucky. The tradition in another branch of the Foster family is that both Stephen and Dunning, sometime during the Cincinnati years, visited a second cousin, Fannie Foster Green, near Danville. She was the daughter of a William Foster (not, of course, Stephen's father), and the wife of Alexander Green, who had a flour and feed mill on the Dix River.¹⁵

* This relationship has been indicated by E. Jay Wohlgenuth, John Tasker Howard, and Professor Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky. See references cited in Notes 9, 16 and 24.

"amiable, generous, and just."¹⁷ She had visited these people.

The incident of the slave gang on the river boat, pictured in Chapter XII of her novel, "had passed under her own eyes while passenger on a steamboat on the Ohio River." Her setting of this incident in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is pertinent here: Stephen Foster must have looked upon just such scenes.¹⁸

The *LaBelle Riviere*, as brave and beautiful a boat as ever walked the waters of her namesake river, was floating gaily down the stream, under a brilliant sky, the stripes and stars of free America waving and fluttering overhead; the guards crowded with well dressed ladies and gentlemen, walking and enjoying the delightful day. All was full of life, buoyant and rejoicing! all but Haley's gang, who were stored, with other freight, on the lower deck, and who, somehow, did not seem to appreciate their various privileges, as they sat in a knot, talking to each other in low tones.

The character of Uncle Tom himself is traceable to Mrs. Stowe's years in Ohio. He was suggested to her by "the faithful slave husband in Kentucky of a servant" in her own Cincinnati household who, "trusted with unlimited liberty, free to come and go on business between Kentucky and Ohio, still refused to

break his pledge of honor to his master, though that master from year to year deferred the keeping of his promise of freedom to the slave."¹⁷

The death of Uncle Tom, which came "as a tangible vision to her mind," Mrs. Stowe related, "while sitting . . . in the little church in Brunswick,"¹⁷ Maine, surely came with vividness also to the mind of Stephen Foster upon reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Pittsburgh. Stephen wrote down the words of a song "Poor Uncle Tom, Good Night." The original chorus¹⁹ (which did not fit the present music) was as follows:

Oh good night, good night, good night
Poor Uncle Tom
Grieve not for your old Kentucky home
You're bound for a better land
Old Uncle Tom

The indebtedness in this first draft of the song is clear. In Mrs. Stowe's description of Uncle Tom on his death-bed, young Master Shelby, who has travelled from Kentucky to the Deep South plantation, exclaims "Uncle Tom! my poor—poor old friend!"²⁰ The greeting "Hard times here, Mas'r,"²¹ which another slave addresses to Master Shelby, was borrowed by Stephen for the line in his song "... hard times come a'knockin' at the door." Beyond this Stephen took over the words "Kentucky home"²² used elsewhere in the novel: and later he changed the theme and

the handling to center not upon an individual but upon an old Kentucky home.

Why did Stephen make this change? His political affiliations—"the Fosters were always ardent Democrats"²³—may have checked his first thought of employing a theme which had become widely associated with the Abolitionists. More likely it was simply due to the artist in Stephen. His artistic judgment would lead him to seek the universal. So, instead of echoing a novel which performed its own high mission of anti-slavery preaching, Stephen developed a song which was broad enough to represent the negro, the South, and the longing for home of human beings everywhere.

CHAPTER VII

PLANTATION MELODIES

"White folks I'll sing for you." Song
"My Brudder Gum."—Stephen Foster

STEPHEN FOSTER'S early association with theatrical minstrelsy was an exceedingly important factor in his life, for out of it grew some of his greatest songs. He took the minstrel portrayal of the negro as a loud and flashy individual and replaced it with the kindly and devoted darky typified by Old Black Joe. He took the tawdry medium of minstrel music and transformed it into a sincere expression of the human heart so that "Old Folks at Home" embodies a universal longing.

I.

From his boyhood days in Pittsburgh Stephen had been attracted to the stage. His brother Morrison relates how a group of neighborhood boys fitted up a theater in a carriage house, with Stephen as "a star performer" in singing "Coal-Black Rose," "Jim Crow" and other "Ethiopian Songs," as they were then termed. With the proceeds of their shows the boys would "buy tickets to the old Pittsburgh Theater on Saturday nights, where they could be seen in the pit listening to the

acting of Junius Brutus Booth . . . Edwin Forrest . . . Mrs. Drake and Mrs. Duff.”¹

It was as a youth of twenty in Cincinnati that Stephen came into close touch with minstrelsy and the concert stage. This was a heyday for road companies and concert artists. Not only during the usual season but frequently in the summer the theaters and concert halls had large audiences drawn from the local area and from the travellers passing up and down the river.

There were three or four companies of wide fame in minstrelsy of the 'forties;* Stephen heard all of them and met their performers and managers in Cincinnati. These companies—or bands or troupes, as they were variously called—ran to type in their personnel: five to eight black-face singers and comedians in gaudy costumes. The program they gave was of stock character also: “New songs, Glees, Quartettes, Choruses, Repartees, Witticisms, Burlesques, Dances, etc., etc.”²

* “Probably the first public presentation of what may be called a real minstrel show took place in the Bowery Amphitheater in New York City, early in 1843. . . . Christy's Minstrels dispute with the Virginia Minstrels the honor of having staged the first performance in America.”—Carl Wittke, *Tambo and Bones*, 1930, p. 41. A third claim for this honor would appear to be put forward by “the celebrated and original band of Sable Harmonists, consisting of Messrs. J. W. Plumer, J. Tichenor, R. H. Hooley, J. B. Farrell, T. F. Briggs, S. A. Wells and Wm. Roark,” who in the Cincinnati *Daily Chronicle* of September 4, 1847, advertised that “the greater portion of this company have been organized nearly six years and in that time have travelled over the immense space of Forty Thousand Miles of Territory.”

MUSIC OF THE GREAT SOUTHERN



New York, Published at MILLET'S MUSIC SALOON 549 Broadway

Waltz Music

- 1. *Swing Song*
- 2. *Swing Song*
- 3. *Swing Song*
- 4. *Swing Song*
- 5. *Swing Song*

Waltz Music

- 1. *Swing Song*
- 2. *Swing Song*
- 3. *Swing Song*
- 4. *Swing Song*
- 5. *Swing Song*

Waltz Music

- 1. *Swing Song*
- 2. *Swing Song*
- 3. *Swing Song*
- 4. *Swing Song*
- 5. *Swing Song*

Waltz Music

- 1. *Swing Song*
- 2. *Swing Song*
- 3. *Swing Song*
- 4. *Swing Song*
- 5. *Swing Song*

EARLY MINSTRELS WHO SANG STEPHEN FOSTER'S
PLANTATION MELODIES

THE TITLE-PAGE OF MUSIC OF THE SABLE HARMONISTS.

The leading companies were Christy's Minstrels which had two separate engagements in Cincinnati in November 1846,³ and again in August 1847;⁴ the Sable Harmonists, whose success was so great that they had March, April, and September appearances of three days to a week in 1847,⁵ and likewise in August 1848⁶ and in August 1849;⁷ and the Empire Minstrels who achieved a record of 59 performances in October, November and December 1849.⁸ Other companies of less fame appearing in Cincinnati in the years Stephen was there included the Sable Troubadours,⁹ "Kneass' Great Original Sable Harmonists,"¹⁰ "Daddy Rice,"¹¹ and Campbell's Minstrels.¹²

There is a florid sameness in the newspaper references to these performances—probably due to press agent authorship. Here is a sample: "To those who have not had the pleasure of hearing them [the Sable Harmonists] we would remark that if they neglect the present opportunity they will miss one of the finest musical banquets of the day."¹³ A report clearly not supplied by a press agent was that of the *Atlas*, declaring that "the music of Kneass' Ethiopian Band on Thursday night was admirable. Some people think it is a vulgar taste, but vulgar or not we like the melodies of these Ethiopian singers."¹⁴

2.

To the back stage of the Melodeon and the National Theaters Stephen found his way with manuscript copies of the Ethiopian melodies he had composed. We know of at least six performers who "played Cincinnati" between 1846 and 1850 to whom Stephen gave his songs with permission to sing them.

Two of these were recipients of the same song, "Oh! Susanna." In time order the first was probably M. J. Tichenor,¹⁵ a member of the Sable Harmonists who presented their "White and Ethiopian concerts" at the Melodeon in March and again in April 1847. His name, as a well known minstrel, was used by W. C. Peters (who misspelled it) in the December 30, 1848, edition of the song, along with that of the composer. With blissful impartiality Stephen gave a manuscript copy also to a performer in a rival company, Christy's Minstrels. He was George N. Christy advertised as "Professor of the Bone Castanets." To "honor" him, the minstrels remained in Cincinnati an extra night, August 25, 1847, for a benefit performance.¹⁶ When the Holt edition of "Oh! Susanna" came out (the earliest known copyright), it proclaimed "Sung by G. N. Christy of the Christy Minstrels," but omitted the composer's name.¹⁷

A third recipient of Stephen's early work was a resident of Cincinnati, William Roark, "bones" with the Sable Harmonists.¹⁸ To

Roark, whom a song cover reveals as an amusing person wearing long curls, Stephen entrusted his "Uncle Ned,"¹⁹ earlier called "Unkle Ned," composed at Pittsburgh. Another early product, "Lou'siana Belle," Stephen gave to Joseph Murphy,²⁰ who sang so well with the Sable Harmonists in the spring of 1847 that the *Gazette* declared his singing was "alone worth the price of a ticket."²¹ Murphy later went to Pittsburgh²² and may have given Nelson Kneass a copy of "Oh! Susanna" for its first public presentation by Kneass on September 11, 1847.²³

The fifth recipient was a member of the Empire Minstrels during their long engagement in Cincinnati in the autumn of 1849.²⁴ The caption title of "Way down in Ca-i-ro" reads: "Written and Composed for James F. Taunt of the Empire Minstrels by Stephen C. Foster."²⁵ When "the Empires" changed their name to Williams' Original Operatic Troupe, Taunt was listed as musical director.²⁶ He had the pleasure of producing Stephen's music in Stephen's home city and, what is more, with credit to Stephen. The *Morning Post* of Pittsburgh announced on February 27, 1850, that "this band . . . an excellent one [will] sing tonight a couple of new songs written by Mr. Foster."

* The caption title on the first page of the Millet edition of the song reads: "Old Uncle Ned. Written & Composed for Wm. Roark, Of the Sable Harmonists. By S. C. Foster of Cincinnati."

Of exceptional interest is the sixth figure in this group of singers, the celebrated Thomas D. Rice. When he appeared in Cincinnati in 1848, billed, in the dignified theatrical manner, as "Mr. Rice," there were special notices explaining that this was "Daddy Rice" of Jim Crow fame.²⁷ Rice is credited by Professor Carl Wittke as the man who "gave the first entertainment in which a black-face performer was not only the main actor but the entire act."²⁸ He was reputed to have developed the Jim Crow song after hearing a negro stage-driver singing along a street in Cincinnati sometime between 1828 and 1830.²⁹ As a boy Stephen had met Rice at Pittsburgh and showed him several of his juvenile songs. During Rice's August 1848 engagement in Cincinnati as Jim Crow, Jumbo Jum and Otillo, Stephen again talked with the veteran who this time purchased Stephen's song "Long Ago Day" and asked him "to compose an air to some verses written by a G. Mellen (or Mellon) which Rice treasured for their sentiment."³⁰ So, as Rice's grandson has recorded, "the song 'This Rose Will Remind You' came to be."³⁰

3.

Stephen wrote a letter from Cincinnati¹⁹ in May 1849 to the New York publisher, William E. Millet, which reveals how casually he took the matter of composing these Ethiopian melodies. He explained that, before he de-

livered "Lou'siana Belle," "Old Uncle Ned" and "Oh! Susanna" to Mr. Peters for publication, he gave manuscript copies "to several persons" with no "permission nor *restriction* in regard to publishing them, unless contained in a letter to Mr. Roark accompanying the m.s. of 'Uncle Ned'—although of this I am doubtful."

As to the writing of minstrel music Stephen had mixed feelings. He realized the attitude toward such music in the drawing rooms and concert halls of a city where "the genteel tradition" was cherished. Indeed, as Stephen himself expressed it, "I had the intention of omitting my name on my Ethiopian songs, owing to the prejudice against them by some, which might injure my reputation as a writer of another style of music."³¹

Obviously Stephen didn't want to be associated with the kind of thing represented by the minstrel company "Darkies of the 19th Century" who advertised in November 1847,³² that "the Congoes have come to town," using these lines:

I've often heard it rumored round
That Cincinnati was de town
Whar steam engines and pork was made
Dey spends the dimes and—who's afraid.

His publishers doubtless agreed with Stephen's feeling in the matter. On the title-pages of his early Ethiopian songs they featured the singers, such as the Sable Harmonists, giving

Stephen's name inside. They omitted his name entirely in the local newspaper advertisements. Several of the latter have interest. The following appeared in the *Chronicle*, March 25 to 30, 1848, inclusive:

UNCLE NED.—Just issued this day, the favorite and popular Negro Melody entitled "Uncle Ned" arranged for the Piano Forte, Solo and Quartette.

MASON, COLBURN & CO.

The *Gazette* of June 22, 1848, carried the Peters, Field & Co. announcement: "NEW SONG—This day issued No. 3 Songs of the Sable Harmonists entitled SUSANNA;" and the dialect words of the stanza "I had a dream de udder night" were quoted. Peters, Field & Co. carried in their new publications advertisement, which ran in the *Chronicle* from July 13 to December 1, 1848, inclusive, an "also" mention of "Songs of the Sable Harmonists, consisting of 'Susanna,' 'Uncle Ned' (the original copy); 'Louisiana Belle.'" These were cited again in a *Chronicle* advertisement of September 2, 1848, which shows definitely that Stephen's songs were then being sung by the Kneass' Opera Troupe.

Ironically the one newspaper advertisement of songs of this type in which the name of Stephen was used credits him with a composition he did not write. In the *Gazette* of December 30, 1848, Peters, Field & Co. an-

nounced: "NEW YEAR'S PRESENTS: This day published—Wake Up Jake, or the Old Iron City, by S. C. Foster," etc.

Young Stephen shortly came to realize that the field in which he had been creating in somewhat clandestine fashion had rich musical possibilities. He may have been helped to this realization when a foreign pianist and composer, Marwitz Strakosch, at a concert in 1849—"one of the richest musical treats of the past musical season"—played his "Souvenir de l'Amerique," with "subjects from the Ethiopian Melodies of the West and South West." In this souvenir were "Old Uncle Ned" and "Oh! Susanna." A reviewer in the *Gazette*³³ rated both as being among the "first-water brilliants of our native music."

Whatever the cause, the change in Stephen's attitude was definite. In February 1850, Stephen wrote to E. P. Christy,³¹ "I wish to unite with you in every effort to encourage a taste for this style of music so cried down by opera mongers." And, in a letter to Christy³¹ in May 1852, Stephen expressed pride that "by my efforts I have done a great deal to build up a taste for the Ethiopian songs among refined people." He did not dream of course that later generations, without either predilection or prejudice, would cherish "Oh! Susanna," "Old Folks at Home" and "Old Black Joe" as folk songs of universal appeal.

4.

In one of Stephen's early melodies the words of a negro are: "White folks, I'll sing for you." This youthful white composer was to sing for the negroes—to influence their own music and to represent their race. The usual songs of the minstrel shows did not please the Southern negroes, said Thomas Wentworth Higginson.* But Stephen Foster's music had an effect upon some of the subsequent negro spirituals. That the hymn "Lord, Remember Me"³⁴ bears "a palpable likeness to 'Camptown Races'" was first indicated by Henry E. Krehbiel;³⁵ and George Pullen Jackson³⁶ says that "Roll Jordan" shows evidence "of having been influenced by Foster's 'Camptown Races.'" As to the popular aspect it may moderately be said that the mass of colored people love these melodies which peculiarly sing their sadness and their joy.

* "A few youths from Savannah . . . had learned some of the 'Ethiopian Minstrel' ditties, imported from the North. These took no hold on the masses," i.e., the negroes of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida.—Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "Negro Spirituals," *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1867.

CHAPTER VIII

A TALE OF TWO BORDER CITIES

"The cities are full of pride
Challenging each to each—"

—Kipling

PITTSBURGH and Cincinnati were rivals in industry and trade in the 'forties, with the latter—before the era of steel—somewhat more populous and prosperous. Their rivalry is reflected in the acerbities and pleasantries of their newspaper editorials.

There is a happy reciprocal relation between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, a tale of two cities, in respect to the early compositions of Stephen Foster. Two of his youthful Pittsburgh songs, "Old Uncle Ned" and "There's a Good Time Coming," were published by a Cincinnati music firm. Three songs which Stephen wrote while in Cincinnati were sung for the first time before Pittsburgh audiences.

I.

The occasion for these first performances relates to a Pittsburgh confectioner named Andrews who followed a newspaperman's advice. When the Pittsburgh *Daily Commercial Journal* announced a concert of Christy's Minstrels in late October 1846, the writer of the item scolded about the old Odeon Theater:

"We don't relish the idea of walking up three flights of stairs"; and he suggested that Andrews, proprietor of the Eagle Ice Cream Saloon "should fit up that fine hall over his Saloon and keep it for concertizing."¹ Andrews took the hint and, in the following spring, he placed advertisements in the newspapers² headed as follows:

NEW ARRANGEMENT

Free Concerts Every Evening this
Week at the

EAGLE SALOON

Ice Cream Tickets 12½ cents each,
which is the only charge.

As manager for his concerts Andrews engaged Nelson Kneass, who was a composer,* a pianist, and a former singer of the Sable Harmonists. Kneass engaged two other minstrels, Joseph Murphy, likewise an ex-Sable Harmonist; and a singer and accordion player named Huntley.⁴ The evening concerts in the Eagle Saloon proving successful, "Afternoon Soirees" were added. And thus their music went along with multitudinous plates of ice cream from late May to the middle of July.⁵

Kneass reorganized the company in August, including four new singers: George Holman, Mrs. Harriet Phillips, Mrs. Eliza Sharpe, and Miss Clara Bruce.⁶ Later he took them out as

* Kneass was credited with having composed the music for the very popular song "Ben Bolt."³

"the Original Kneass Opera Troupe," the first date on their road tour being Cincinnati,⁷ the second Louisville.⁸

For their Pittsburgh concert of August 19, 1847, the program was advertised⁶ to include "Song—first time—'What Can a Fairy's Dream be'; by Miss Bruce." This was Stephen's song, published later in that year by W. C. Peters, Cincinnati, as "What Must a Fairy's Dream Be? Ballad, Written & Composed for and respectfully Dedicated to Miss Mary H. Irwin." Possibly Miss Mary, to whom Stephen doubtless sent a dedicatory copy, herself supplied the song to Kneass. Surely she went with her friends to hear it. So, in this quite nice place where all the quite nice people of Pittsburgh were flocking, she listened enraptured as Miss Bruce sang:

What must a Fairy's dream be
Who drinks of the morning dew?

Miss Bruce repeated the song at the concerts of August 20 and 21.⁹

We know without question how Stephen's second song "Away Down South" came to be sung in the Kneass concerts. Morrison Foster, then living in Pittsburgh, wrote to Stephen¹⁰ urging him to compete for a silver cup to be awarded, according to the newspaper advertisement,¹¹ "to the author of such original words of an Ethiopian Melody or Extravaganze to be set to music by the present Troupe, as shall be *decided the best* by the spontaneous

voice of the audience at the TRIAL CONCERT, Monday evening, September 6."

Stephen probably remembered Andrews and he was not much taken with the ice-cream parlor idea. As a friend recorded, he "at first expressed a dislike to appear under such circumstances."¹⁰ He finally sent along to Morrison his song, "Away Down South."¹⁰

Morrison maintained that, at the trial concert, the audience "gave the applause and the approval to Stephen's song, but the prize, as usual, went to one of the troupe, for a vulgar plagiarism without any music or poetry in it."¹²

Otherwise was the version of the *Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal*, September 8, 1847 (perhaps so reported by Kneass):

Ten songs were offered to the audience, some of them exceedingly clever. The audience, by a large majority, awarded the prize to a song written and set to music by Mr. Holman, the tenor singer, whose vocal talents we have had occasion heretofore warmly to commend. It should be a satisfaction to the disappointed to know that they, at least, have been defeated by a gentlemanly and excellent man, aside from his professional merit. . . . Mr. H's song was entitled the "Iron City."*

* The copy of "Wake Up Jake, or the Old Iron City" in the

For four additional nights the Kneass company presented the Holman prize song, and "one or two other of the pieces submitted for the prize and which have been stamped by popular approval."¹³ Kneass added that all of these songs "have been *copyrighted*, and can only be heard, as originally produced, at the Eagle Saloon."¹³

As a matter of fact Kneass, who had sung Stephen's song, was blocked in his attempt to copyright it. When he appeared in the United States Court the day after the trial concert and asked for a copyright in his own name, Kneass encountered Morrison Foster who was there taking out a copyright for Stephen. Morrison "informed Judge Irwin of the fraud."¹²

In his account of it, Morrison adds: "Matters of this kind gave Stephen no concern, however. He was always indifferent about money or fame."¹²

2.

The prize and copyright episode did not prevent the presentation of a third song of Stephen's at a succeeding concert of the Kneass company. This was Stephen's really great song of its type, the buoyant and joyous "Oh! Susanna." It was sung, probably by Kneass, who also repeated Stephen's prize

Foster Hall Collection bears the following line: "A magnificent Silver Cup was awarded to the Author of this song by A. Andrews, Esqr., of the Eagle Saloon, Pittsburgh, Pa."

effort, at the Grand Gala Concert, Saturday evening, September 11, 1847, the "Last Night of the Vocalists." The program, as announced in the *Daily Commercial Journal*,¹⁴ included these numbers:

The Old Iron City—Prize Song

Away down Souf

Allegheny Belle

SUSANNA—A new song never before
given to the public.

Who it was that escorted Susanna from Cincinnati to Pittsburgh for her casual début in an ice-cream saloon we can only guess. It may have been M. J. Tichenor, whose name blossomed forth in the caption title of the song when W. C. Peters published it a year later under the heading "Songs of the Sable Harmonists."¹⁵ Tichenor was with the Sable Harmonists at the Melodeon in Cincinnati at two separate engagements in the preceding spring. When the Harmonists left for Pittsburgh in the middle of April,¹⁶ Tichenor may have taken a copy of the song with him, in accordance with Stephen's letter to Mr. Millet.¹⁷

Another of the "several persons" to whom Stephen wrote that he gave manuscript copies of "Oh! Susanna" may have been Joseph Murphy, also of the Sable Harmonists. Along with "Lou'siana Belle," Murphy may have had "Oh! Susanna" when he journeyed to Pittsburgh after the Cincinnati engagement. This becomes especially plausible when we

consider that Murphy joined the company of singers managed by Nelson Kneass in May¹⁸ and was still in Pittsburgh in September¹⁹ when "Oh! Susanna," was included in the Kneass program.

However the song was transmitted we may reach a pretty definite conclusion as to its origin. We have the positive statement of his brother Morrison, who was always Stephen's confidant; who, knowing and listing Stephen's earlier songs, has set down:²⁰ "While in Cincinnati he wrote 'Oh! Susanna.'"

3.

These facts as to where "Oh! Susanna" was composed and where first sung have interest because it soon became and remains today a universal song. Within a decade it was "sung all over the civilized world, the seacoast cities of China not excepted." Bayard Taylor, travelling in India, reported hearing it sung at Delhi.²¹

How translators caught its spirited swing in French, German, Italian, Spanish, modern Greek, Chinese and Latin is shown in a *Foster Hall Bulletin*.²² Specimen opening lines read as follows:

FRENCH

Oui, j'arrive d'Alabam'
Mon banjo sur les genoux. . . .

GERMAN

Ich kam von Alabama
Mein Banjo auf dem Knie. . . .

ITALIAN

Son venuto dal Alabama
Con la mia chitarra al braccio. . . .

SPANISH

Vengo de Alabama,
Banjo en mano, es mi furor. . . .

LATIN

Passibus haud pigris Alabamae prata
relinquo;
In genibus porto barbiton ipse meam. . . .

As with the Gilbert and Sullivan songs, "Oh! Susanna" is a tune that persuades youth of today that the older generation were not so stodgy after all. In "Oh! Susanna" the eternally young Stephen Foster sings out *virginibus puerisque*, youth calling to youth across the years.

4.

As already stated, the Kneass Opera Troupe journeyed to Cincinnati after their Pittsburgh début and there gave a series of concerts at each of three theaters in September and October 1847. They "have fairly taken our city by storm . . . greeted with the most marked demonstrations of popular delight," reported the *Gazette*.²³

Remembering the fiasco in the Pittsburgh competition, Stephen paid no attention, we

may be sure, to this newspaper advertisement²⁴ of the final concert of the Kneass troupe, a benefit performance on the evening of October 28:

The Company beg leave to announce that on Wednesday Evening, they will award a beautiful

GOLD MEDAL!

for the best Original Ethiopian Extravaganza adapted to an old or original melody. The songs, or a part of them, will be sung before the audience and the prize, as selected by a Committee, awarded.

The papers next day did not report the outcome of the contest.

CHAPTER IX

THE STAGE AND THE CONCERT HALL OF THE 'FORTIES

"Madame B— and her company. . . will long be remembered with pleasure as having contributed one of the most charming series of entertainments our citizens have been favored with this season."— *Cincinnati Daily Atlas*.

I.

THE river boats and the great-funnelled locomotives of the late 'forties carried into and away from Cincinnati more than merchandise, merchants and California emigrants. There were frequent comings and goings of theatrical and concert companies on tour, lecturers and preachers. Patronage for their offerings was excellent, the audiences for the half-dozen theaters and concert halls issuing from the city itself, the surrounding area, and the travellers who broke the tedium of long journeys by a stop-over in Cincinnati. In no respect was Cincinnati more the Queen City than in what it afforded in music and dramatics. Exceptional were the opportunities thus open to the young employee of Irwin & Foster who had a lively interest in both fields and high ambition in one of them.

As a boy at Pittsburgh Stephen had delighted in the theater, and had attended a number of Shakespearean plays. Now, with matured understanding, he had plenty of chances to see more of them and to catch the music of Shakespeare's lines. In a letter to his brother Morrison,¹ he mentioned the appearance in Cincinnati of the eminent English actor, William Charles Macready, whose performance the New York *Home Journal* (of which Stephen was a reader) termed "a delineation of the beauty and power of Shakespeare."² Following his engagement at the National Theater in April, 1849, the *Chronicle* reported³ that "this distinguished tragedian has been playing to crowded and fashionable houses,"* and the *Gazette* said⁴ that "Mr. Macready has won for himself here 'troops of friends' for he challenges admiration both as an actor and ripe scholar and polished gentleman." It should be said that Cincinnati applauded also Macready's great rival, Edwin Forrest, the American tragedian who used to declare⁵ "I play Hamlet, I play Richelieu. But King Lear, by God, I *am* Lear!" To this terrible intensity the critic of the *Gazette* testified⁶ in his report of Forrest's performance before "a crowded house" in April 1848: It was "a most powerful and truthful personation of the mad old King."

* Macready's repertoire then included *Macbeth* and "*Henry VIII* for the first time in our city."

Another local favorite as Othello and Richard III was Junius Brutus Booth, referred to kindly,⁷ upon his final Cincinnati appearance in December 1848, as "one of the old school tragedians [who] plays still with the power and spirit which distinguished him in his younger days." He was the father of Edwin Booth.

Among the numerous other Shakespearean productions two stand out for our narrative. They were both of *Romeo and Juliet*. In December 1846 the leading parts were taken by Miss E. Logan and Mr. Morris;⁸ a year later the play was given with Miss E. Wemyss as Juliet.⁹ From either of these performances may have germinated the idea for "Wilt Thou be Gone, Love?" the song whose words Stephen adapted from the lines in the balcony scene.

The National Theater was the usual house for Shakespearean and other "legitimate" plays such as the *School for Scandal*, *The Lady of Lyons*, *The Gladiator*, and *Richelieu*. Professional concerts were generally put on at the Melodeon and at Shires Garden Theater (where Shakespeare was also played). For various other productions, amateur and professional, there were Rockwell's Amphitheater, the Atheneum, the Masonic Hall and similar halls.

When Stephen and other citizens of greater or less purse stepped into the theater lobbies in the late 'forties, what did they have to pay

for tickets? The following advertisement¹⁰ represented the standard rate: "Private Boxes 75 cents; Dress Circle 50 cents; Second Tier 50 cents; Pit 25 cents; Boxes for persons of Color 30 cents; Gallery 20 cents." Prices varied somewhat for minstrel shows and for ballets and pageants, with an occasional record rate¹¹ such as the Herz and Sivori concert, when the announcement read: "One person \$1. Five persons without regard to sex \$3."

2.

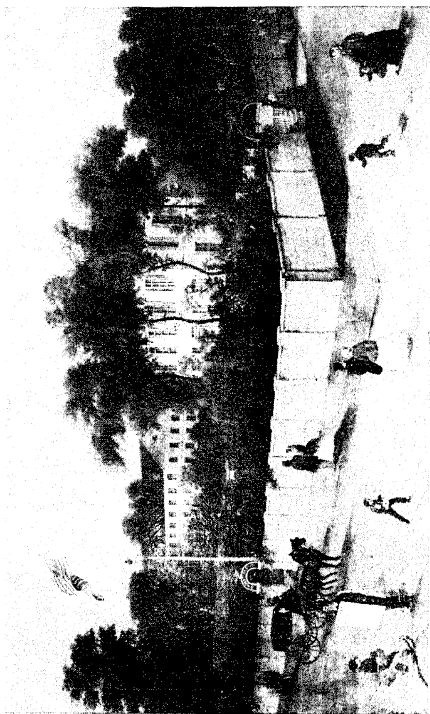
The winter seasons abounded in concerts both amateur and professional. Among the former were subscription concerts by the Choir of St. Xavier Church, by the Amateur Vocal Society, the Amateur Musical Society and the Philharmonic Society.¹² In their programs classical music was interspersed with sentimental ditties, a culmination of the "musical soirees" given in numerous residences. It was doubtless amateur programs such as these that suggested "Foster's Social Orchestra," a collection of "Popular Melodies, arranged as Solos, Duets, Trios, and Quartets by Stephen C. Foster,"¹³ published in 1854.

There is every likelihood that Stephen heard the brilliant performances in July 1847, given by Henry Herz, pianist, and C. Sivori, violinist, inasmuch as we have the word of a contemporary¹⁴ that these "artists of the highest distinction favored him with their friendship." As a special feature of their farewell

concert at the Melodeon on July 10, "the Overture of William Tell was executed on eight pianofortes by sixteen pianists . . . of whom six are ladies of this city."¹⁵

Professional concerts which we definitely know Stephen attended were those given at the Melodeon in April 1849, by "Madame Biscaccianti, Prima Donna Assoluta, from the principal theaters in Italy; Astor Place Opera House, New York; Philadelphia, etc." with Signor Biscaccianti performing "solos on the violcello."¹⁶ Stephen wrote Morrison that "her concerts were very well attended; indeed, such was her encouragement . . . that she expressed an intention to return after she should have made a visit to Louisville."¹ Stephen told of meeting "Signor Biscaccianti and his accomplished lady" and of being as much delighted by Madame Biscaccianti's "conversation and agreeable manner as I was subsequently by her singing at her concerts."¹ The local newspaper reviewers¹⁶ shared Stephen's enthusiasm:

Madame Biscaccianti has won a place by her cavatinos, romanzas and rondos, in the hearts of our lovers of pure, beautiful and impassioned vocalizations. . . . Her voice is of a most liquid and beautiful quality, with great power, and an uncommon compass.



SHIRES GARDEN

FAMOUS THEATER, CONCERT HALL, AND AMUSEMENT PARK PATRONIZED BY
CINCINNATIANS OF THE 'FORTIES.

*Painting by T. B. Glessing, on view in the rooms of the Ohio Historical and
Philosophical Society.*

And there was editorial comment¹⁷ upon her graciousness in appearing, with her husband, among the audience at a concert of the Amateur Musical Society.

Cincinnatians of the 'forties were fond of frequenting a combination of theater, concert hall and amusement park called Shires Garden,¹⁸ which occupied an entire square fronting Third Street from Vine to Race Streets. The Independence Day celebration in the city regularly concluded with a gala display of fireworks at the Garden; possibly Mrs. Foster, Dunning and Stephen were there on the evening of July 4, 1848,* during the visit of Mrs. Foster reported in Chapter XIII. At the formal opening of the Shires Garden Theater in 1842, "the prime address was spoken by Mrs. Hunt," a noted actress of the period.† Many concerts and theatrical performances were given in this theater before its destruction by fire.

* "The display at Shires Garden on Tuesday evening was both grand and beautiful."—The *Atlas*, July 6, 1848.

† She later became Mrs. John Drew, grandmother of Lionel Barrymore, John Barrymore, and Ethel Barrymore.

CHAPTER X
STEPHEN WINS SUCCESS

“To have the sense of creative activity is the greatest happiness and the greatest proof of being alive.”

—Matthew Arnold

THERE was more than rosy retrospect in the later saying of Stephen that his Cincinnati years were the happiest of his life. He then had the joy of stimulation, of creative work, of recognition. The measure of each our narrative will disclose. As a preliminary we may say that here was an environment having flavor and charm which spurred on this young man who wanted to be both poet and musician; here he was able, in after-hours leisure, to produce verse and music notable for quality and quantity; here he received generous public notice—his name appearing, for example, in the local newspaper advertisements of his publishers about one hundred and twenty-five times in three years.

I.

His family had sent Stephen away so that he would attend to business and forget music. He did attend to business but, from the singing of stevedores at the wharf to gala concerts up town, he constantly heard music in the air of Cincinnati.

Within a few squares of Stephen's boarding house there were four music stores selling pianos, string and wind instruments; with one of them advertising a stock of 80,000 pieces of sheet music.¹ Several schools of music offered instruction. The local musical group of professionals included teachers such as Professor U. C. Hill, "late President of the Philharmonic Society and Conductor of the Sacred Music Society, New York,"² and Professor Charles Aikin, supervisor of music in the public schools;³ and vocal and instrumental artists such as Madame Scheidler, Messrs. Scheidler, Runge, Tosso and Pond.⁴ Foreign artists occasionally made extended stays in the city: Madame Ablamowicz, Madame Knoop, Madame Biscaccianti, and Madame Anna Bishop.⁴

In addition to the performance of music, Cincinnati was a center for its publication. The *Gazette* reported as follows:⁵

NEW MUSIC

The book publishing business has increased very fast in this city within a few years, but the publishing of music is outstripping it. There are now three music publishing houses here, one of which (Peters & Field's) is the most extensive concern in the United States—with only two exceptions. P. & F. have four music presses engaged on their work, and two lithographic presses. The former they run

constantly—the latter a large portion of time. They of course throw off vast quantities of work, and are constantly supplying orders from all parts of the country. The other establishments also do a good business. The demand for music in the West, we understand, is rapidly increasing—a good indication of advancing cultivation and refinement.

Thanks to the editors Gallagher and Mansfield, the Cincinnati newspapers pointed the way in the West to “advancing culture and refinement” by featuring literary and musical news. The *Gazette* adopted an italicized side-heading *New Music* (quite in the best Eastern style) and with this caption carried items about recent publications.

These news notes, as one youthful reader would observe, referred not to “Ethiopian melodies,” but always to dignified compositions for the piano and vocal protestations of sweetly eternal love.

Stephen must have been stirred to emulation when he read Mr. Gallagher’s mention in the *Gazette* of local composers—such items as these:

*New Music.*⁶ “You Ask if I Love You,” words by S. L. Ryder, music by E. Thomas, has just been published in a handsome style by T. B. Mason. The melody of this song is

one of the sweetest our friend Thomas has yet breathed upon the air.

*New Music.*⁷ Messrs. Peters & Field have just published "Thou Shalt Never Know I Love Thee," a favorite Ballad, written by Wm. Birney, Esq. and dedicated to Miss Louise Kirby.

2.

During the winter and spring of 1847 a cluster of melodies played chase with each other in Stephen's reveries. One of them may have been suggested by a ballad of the old English style printed in the *Gazette* of March 24, called "The Fairies of Coldon Low." Stephen put upon paper verses in the manner of Shelley's "The Cloud," the first stanza running thus:

What must a Fairy's dream be,
Who drinks of the morning dew?
Would she think to fly till she reach'd the sky
And bathe in its lakes of blue,
Or gather bright pearls from the depths of the sea
What must the dream of a fairy be?

Now this dainty creature had a comic competitor—a buxom lass who was to travel all over the world and become familiar to many later generations. Some negro strummer on a banjo surely gave Stephen this idea of

... a dream de udder night, when ebry ting was still
I thought I saw Susanna dear, a coming down de hill.

The buckwheat cake was in her mouf, de tear was in
her eye,
I says, I'se coming from de souf, Susanna don't you
cry.⁸

Fond as he must have been of the immortal tune to these words Stephen was not at first proud of "Oh! Susanna" or of his other early Ethiopian melodies. We have already quoted his own explanation: "I had the intention of omitting my name on my Ethiopian songs, owing to the prejudice against them by some, which might injure my reputation as a writer of another style of music."⁹

"Away Down South" was a third tune which bobbed up in Stephen's head in his earliest months in Cincinnati. He sent it, along with the Susanna and Fairy's Dream manuscripts, to Pittsburgh where, as told in Chapter VIII, all three were sung late in the summer of 1847 at concerts of the Andrews Opera Troupe. Stephen had a chance* to hear how they were rendered, inasmuch as this same company journeyed from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati and, under the direction of Nelson Kneass, began an engagement at the National Theater on September 22.¹⁰ As with movie productions today, they had a second-run engagement at the Masonic Hall and a third at Melodeon Hall. There is interest in the news

* An advertisement of Peters, Field & Co. in the *Daily Chronicle* subsequently specified "Oh! Susanna," "Uncle Ned" and "Louisiana Belle" among the "popular Songs as sung by Kneass' Opera Troupe."

announcement of November 1, 1847, that "Mr. Kneass, the popular leader of the Opera Troupe which has been performing at the Melodeon, intends opening a school for musical instruction in our city."¹¹ Kneass joined the Cincinnati musical group and Peters & Field brought out his "Ben Bolt"¹² and several other compositions.

3.

We know that Stephen's first manuscripts submitted to Peters & Field in 1847 were not Ethiopian melodies but the "style of music" for which he was ambitious to be known by his Cincinnati friends and acquaintances. His bow to the local public was made in this fashion. Several years before, he had composed music to the words of a poem "Open Thy Lattice, Love," which he read in the *New Mirror*, a New York weekly; and in December 1844, the song had been brought out by the Philadelphia publisher, George Willig.¹³ The title-page of this, Stephen's first vocal composition, carried his dedication of it "to Miss Susan E. Pentland of Pittsburgh." Alas for the youthful composer, the printer had made a typographical mistake with his name; it appeared as "L. C. Foster."¹³

So Stephen, possibly still nettled by the misspelling and certainly eager to join the local hall of musicianly fame, permitted the publication of "Open Thy Lattice, Love" anew. His friend, W. C. Peters, evidently purchased

or borrowed the music plates from the Philadelphia publisher and corrected the first initial of Stephen's name for this second edition.* It was doubtless Peters who arranged for the Peters & Field advertisement in the *Gazette*¹⁴ announcing "a beautiful Song, Music by S. C. Foster, Esq.," at the same time calling it to the attention of W. D. Gallagher, who prepared the newspaper's music as well as literary items.

So there came a heavenly morning for the clerk and bookkeeper of Irwin & Foster, the tenth of June 1847, when the *Gazette's* editorial page transmitted a Jovian nod of recognition from the great Gallagher. Not with the usual *New Music* caption but under the column headed THE CITY appeared this item:

"*Open Thy Lattice, Love.*"—This is the title of a sweet little melody for the Piano, just published by Mr. S. C. Foster, whose spirited air of "A Good Time Coming,"† published

* The copy of the Peters edition in the Foster Hall Collection (only known copy extant) reveals that the music plates seem identical with the Willig edition; that W. C. Peters is given as the publisher and the firms of Peters & Webster, Louisville, and Peters & Field, Cincinnati, as co-publishers; that the original copyright line is omitted; that the plate numbers 1116 are added to both pages; and that, most important to Stephen, his name is printed correctly.

† The item indicates that "There's a Good Time Coming," copyrighted by W. C. Peters in 1846, may also have been brought out by Peters in a second edition in 1847; there was, however, no local newspaper reference to this "spirited air" prior to the item of June 10.

two or three months ago, has become a decided favorite.

Stephen may have celebrated by attending the "Grand Concert" at the Melodeon that evening or one of the plays at the Atheneum or the National Theater. Possibly, since the *Gazette* reported that "summer is down upon us fiercely and suddenly," he merely strolled on that warm June evening with his precious newspaper clipping in his wallet, beginning to dream about a career not of business but of music.

Let us hope Stephen was congratulated upon the *Gazette* item by his good friends, Sophie Marshall and her mother, when they met on the following evening, as they surely must have, for a great event for the Marshalls and, indeed, for the city of Cincinnati. This was the launching of a steamboat named for Sophie's grandfather, Michael P. Cassilly. As the *Chronicle* reported it,¹⁵ "the *M. P. Cassilly*, the first brig ever built in the Queen City of the West, was launched from the shipyard of M. B. Hazen. A large concourse of people assembled to witness the launching."

4.

It was to Sophie Marshall, as has been recorded earlier in this book, that Stephen dedicated "Stay, Summer Breath," the second romantic ballad for which he wrote both words and music. The first, "What Must a

Fairy's Dream Be?" was published by W. C. Peters and copyrighted by him October 18, 1847 (the same day on which he copyrighted "Lou'siana Belle").¹⁶ Our guess is that Stephen wrote "Stay, Summer Breath" during the summer of 1847; this is suggested by its publication fairly early in the summer of 1848.

"Stay Summer Breath" has a peculiar interest for us because of the degree to which Peters, Field & Co. advertised it. An announcement concerning it and other "Songs, Polkas &c . . . published recently" was printed continuously in the *Daily Chronicle* from July 13 to December 1, 1848, inclusive. Among the others were "Songs of the Sable Harmonists," consisting of "Susanna," "Uncle Ned" (the original copy), "Lou'siana Belle"; the latter were given without credit to the composer, as Stephen then preferred. But following the title of his song composed in the musically and socially acceptable style appeared "S. C. Foster." His name was thus published one hundred and twenty-two times. There were doubtless also favorable displays of his compositions in the music stores so generally patronized by professional and amateur musicians of the city. Far from being an obscure bookkeeper who made no ripple on the Cincinnati musical waters, Stephen received quite as much local recognition as a modest young fellow in his early twenties could hope for.

Stephen's friend, Samuel P. Thompson, was probably interested with him in the double-



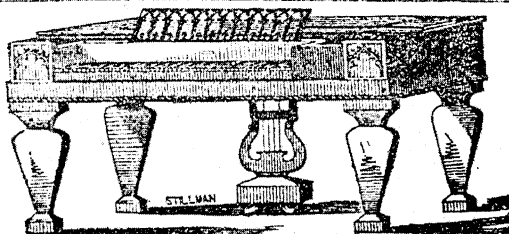
NEW PUBLICATIONS.—PETERS, FIELD & CO., have published, recently, the following popular Songs, Polkas, &c:

- "BEN BOLT, or, Oh! don't you remember"—by Kneass;
- "STAY, SUMMER BREATH"—by S. C. Foster;
- "O, LEAVE ME TO MY SORROW"—by H. D. Sofge;
- "TOM TACME POLKA"—with a beautiful likeness of the little General.

ALSO—Songs of the Sable Harmonists, consisting of—
 "Susanna;"
 "Uncle Ned," (the original copy);
 "Louisiana Belle."

PETERS, FIELD & CO.,

Agents for Nunns & Clark's and A H Gale & Co's Piano Fortes. Melodeon, corner 4th and Walnut sts.
 jy 13



PIANO FORTES.—By recent arrivals the following Piano Fortes, viz:—

- Eight plain square, canted corners, 6 octave, Gale &
- One 6½ octave, carved Gothic tablet. Nunns & Clark
- One 6 do round corner, plain do do.
- Three 6 octave, plain square, do do.

The above list comprises the best assortment of Pianos that have been offered; they are of the latest Eastern patterns and will be sold at the lowest Eastern retail prices, for good instruments and warranted. Terms cash, or good endorsed notes.

PETERS, FIELD & CO.,

jy 13 Melodeon, N. W. corner 4th and Walnut sts.

N. B.—Old Pianos taken in part pay at their utmost value. Several old Pianos wanted at this time.

ADVERTISEMENT OF STEPHEN'S "STAY SUMMER BREATH,"
 "OH! SUSANNA," "UNCLE NED" AND "LOUISIANA BELLE"

PUBLISHED 122 TIMES IN THE CINCINNATI *Daily Chronicle*,
 JULY 13 TO DECEMBER 1, 1848.

barrelled appearance of the poem which Stephen set to music in 1849 and dedicated to Thompson. We know from the advertisement¹⁷ of H. L. Derby & Co., 145 Main Street, that their store was the only authorized agent in Cincinnati for "the delightful weekly," the *Home Journal*, of New York, edited by George P. Morris and Nathaniel P. Willis. In the issue of Saturday, May 12, 1849, appeared verses entitled "Summer Longings," which it has been established were from the pen of the Irish poet Denis Florence MacCarthy. Now it happens that the same poem, with variations in text, was earlier printed in the Cincinnati *Atlas*, the issue of Saturday, April 21, 1849. The *Atlas* credited the lines to the *Dublin University Magazine*. When he published his song Stephen ascribed the words to the *Home Journal* and he utilized its superior text. But, as we know he was a reader of the *Atlas*, is it not probable that he first saw the poem there and was further impressed with its second quotation in the *Home Journal*?

5.

Stephen's productiveness during these years is impressively shown in the Foster Hall Chronological Index¹⁸ as follows:

1847

Lou'siana Belle (copyright October 18).

What Must a Fairy's Dream Be? (copyright October 18).

1848

Oh! Susanna (copyright February 25).

Old Uncle Ned (copyright May 16).

Away Down South (copyright December 30).

Santa Anna's Retreat from Buena Vista

(copyright December 30).

Stay, Summer Breath (copyright December 30).

1849

My Brudder Gum (copyright October 1).

Dolcy Jones (copyright November 14).

Nelly Was A Lady

Summer Longings (copyright November 21).

During 1850 sixteen Foster compositions were copyrighted, including many which were written in Cincinnati.

1850

Oh! Lemuel! (copyright January 7).

Mary Loves the Flowers (copyright January 16).

Nelly Bly (copyright February 8).

Soiree Polka (copyright February 12).

(Camptown Races) Gwine to Run All Night (copyright February 19).

Dolly Day (copyright February 19).

Angelina Baker (copyright March 18).

Ah! May the Red Rose Live Alway

(copyright April 12).

Molly! Do you Love Me? (copyright May 6).

Way Down in Ca-i-ro (copyright April 17).

The Voice of By-Gone Days (copyright June 28).

The Spirit of My Song (copyright August 21).

I Would Not Die In Spring-Time

(copyright October 15).

Turn Not Away (copyright October 15).
Village Belle Polka (copyright October 15).
Lily Ray (copyright December 9).

To this list Foster Hall has recently added a song "Way Down South in Alabama,"* copyrighted in 1848. It is authentically a product of Stephen's pen. Without great merit, it belongs in the group of songs which he turned out perhaps too prolifically. At any rate both he and his work were alive!

* The only copy of "Way Down South in Alabama" known to be in existence is in the possession of Mr. Maskell Ewing of Philadelphia. Mr. Ewing is a grandson of Stephen Foster's sister, Ann Eliza Foster Buchanan. This song is in the collection of Foster music which formerly belonged to his grandmother. Information about "Way Down South in Alabama" was supplied Foster Hall through the courtesy of Mr. Ewing.

CHAPTER XI

POET, MUSICIAN AND MAN

"By their universality his songs have so touched the hearts of millions of everyday folk that no one save Lincoln is more affectionately regarded."

—William Arms Fisher

I.

STEPHEN once told his brother Morrison that he wrote the words as well as the music of his songs because "the difficulty of harmonizing sounds with words rendered this necessary."¹ Thus wittingly or unwittingly did he disguise the fact that he was incurably poetic. To write verse was as much in his soul as to compose music; as with the medieval minstrel these impulses were intertwined in him. His "Old Uncle Ned" and "Lou'siana Belle" showed Stephen's boyish inclination to weave words with musical notes. He could hardly have found an environment more suited for the development of this inclination than that which he entered at the age of twenty.

Cincinnati was a city in which there was a deliberate cultivation of letters. Here Stephen—a great reader as a boy*—could frequent

* Although not a diligent student at school, Stephen as a boy, according to contemporary letters of his parents, "reads a great deal" and "is uncommonly studious at home."²

libraries as well as concert halls, bookstores as well as music stores. Here, in the city newspapers and weekly journals, he had a wealth of current literature, essays, fiction and poetry. Interspersed with quotations from the British and New England† poets of the day, he would find poems by local authors, especially Alice and Phoebe Cary and the head of the literary coterie in Cincinnati, W. D. Gallagher.

So Stephen‡ had every incentive to write his own verses for his songs. Imitative, as are most young geniuses, he took the themes then most favored, Love and Death, and he followed the current poetical style in his treatment of them.

Interesting comparisons are afforded. Under the heading New Music, the *Gazette* of October 29, 1847 reviewed recent songs for which the words were poems by the British statesman Disraeli, "My Heart is Like a Silent Lute," and by the local editor Gallagher, "Oh Think Not Less I Love Thee." The first stanza of each follows:

DISRAELI

My heart is like a silent lute,
Some faithless hand hath thrown aside;
Whose cords are dumb, whose tones are mute,
That once sent forth a voice of pride;

† Longfellow, Whittier, and William Cullen Bryant were most frequently quoted.

‡ He was especially fond of Tennyson³ and Poe.⁴

Yet even o'er the lute neglected
The winds of Heaven will sometimes fly;
And even thus the heart dejected,
Will sometimes answer with a sigh.

GALLAGHER

Oh, think not less I love thee,
That our paths are parted now;
For the stars that burn above thee,
Are not truer than my vow.
As the fragrance to the blossom,
As the moon unto the night,
Our love is to my bosom—
Its sweetness and its light.

Here is the opening verse of a poem "Light in Darkness," by Miss Phoebe Cary* which the *Gazette* of October 1, 1847, reprinted from the *Herald of Truth*:

PHOEBE CARY

Did we think of the light and sunshine,
Of the blessings left us still,
When we sit and ponder darkly
And blindly o'er life's ill;
How should we dispel the shadows
Of still and deep despair,
And lessen the weight of anguish
Which every heart must bear!

Showing the influence of current theme and style are the verses Stephen wrote in this youthful period, "Stay, Summer Breath" (quoted in Chapter III) and "Ah! May the

* Phoebe Cary's most noted composition is probably the hymn "One Sweetly Solemn Thought."

Red Rose Live Always.”† Here is the first stanza of the latter song:

STEPHEN FOSTER

Ah! may the red rose live away,
To smile upon earth and sky!
Why should the beautiful ever weep?
Why should the beautiful die?
Lending a charm to ev'ry ray
That falls on her cheeks of light,
Giving the zephyr kiss for kiss,
And nursing the dew drop bright.
Ah! may the red rose live away,
To smile upon earth and sky!
Why should the beautiful ever weep?
Why should the beautiful die?

These are exquisite lines, with the quality of true poetry, worthy of the music that went with them—or they with it. A youth who could produce such lines may be called a poet, though a minor one.

2.

Stephen had a poor sense of the way to spell words and a keen sense of their poetic use. He once humorously referred to “this blind bridle orthography.”⁵ As to his literary judgment we have an instance in his naming of the river of “Old Folks at Home.” His manuscript book⁶ discloses that it was originally Pedee River. As his brother Morrison related, Ste-

† Harold Vincent Milligan (in *Stephen Collins Foster, a Biography*, 1920, p. 56) compares this song with the words of Omar:

Alas that spring should vanish with the rose,
That youth's sweet-scented manuscript should close.

phen and he looked over a map of the United States, searching for "a good name of two syllables for a Southern river." Morrison's proposal of Yazoo was rejected. Then, wrote Morrison:

. . . my finger stopped at the "Swanee," a little river in Florida emptying into the Gulf of Mexico. "That's it, that's it exactly!" exclaimed he, delighted, as he wrote the name down; and the song was finished, commencing "Way down upon de Swanee Ribber."⁷

How Stephen was shaped by his time is shown in the verses he wrote for his negro melodies. Throughout "Oh! Susanna" runs the grotesque exaggeration and contradictions of pioneer humor:

It rained all night the day I left
The weather it was dry,
The sun so hot I froze to death—
Susanna, don't you cry.

Presently, into his plantation songs there crept Stephen's note of poetic tenderness, as in "Dolly Day."

When de work is over
I make de banjo play,
And while I strike de dulcem notes,
I think of Dolly Day.
Her form is like a posy—
De lily of de vale,
Her voice is far de sweetest sound
Dat floats upon de gale.

Way down upon de old plantation

Way down upon de Pedee river
Far far away

Here's where my heart is turning other
Leaves when my brodders play

Way down upon de Pedee river

Far far away

Here's where my heart is turning other

Leaves when de old fiddlers play

All up and down de whole creation

Swanee round

Let long me for de old plantation

Way down de old river

THE FIRST DRAFT OF "WAY DOWN UPON THE SWANEE
RIVER"

SHOWING THAT FOSTER SUBSTITUTED "SWANEE" FOR "PEDEE."

Original copy in the Foster Hall Collection.

Filled with delightful homely similes was his "Nelly Bly," as in this verse:

Nelly Bly hab a voice like de turtle dove,
I hears it in de meadow and I hears it in de grove.
Nelly Bly hab a heart warm as cup ob tea,
And bigger dan de sweet potato down in Tennessee.

With the same poetic as well as musical power, Stephen was later to stir the feelings of singers and hearers of "My Old Kentucky Home," "Old Folks at Home," and "Old Black Joe," "Jeanie With the Light Brown Hair," and "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming."

The verses and music Stephen produced during his Cincinnati residence and in the ensuing productive years were creditably free from mawkish sentimentality. It is a melancholy fact that later he fell from poetical and musical grace; some of his Civil War songs are sad for reasons other than their author intended. Happily, in one of his final songs, he recaptured the first careless rapture. The music of "Beautiful Dreamer" is lovely and the music is matched by the words.

3.

As to the sources of Stephen's melodies, there have been a few charges of plagiarism which analysis has proved to be mistaken. Henry Watterson, the Louisville editor, maintained in his book *Marse Henry* that "the melody of 'Old Folks at Home' may be found

in Schubert's posthumous 'Rosemonde' [*sic*]."⁸ This charge has been disposed of by John Tasker Howard: "There is in the 'Rosamunde' score a slight rhythmic suggestion of 'Old Folks at Home,' but the melodic intervals are so different that any claim that the two melodies are at all alike is thoroughly absurd."⁹

That the notes of the line "Weep no more my lady" in "My Old Kentucky Home" appear in the tenor solo "Dalla sua pace" in Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni* was recently pointed out to the present writer by an opera singer. Here is the comment of Dr. Sigmund Spaeth, the "Tune Detective" who has uncovered so many borrowings from the classics by present-day composers: "The chances are that Foster was not familiar with *Don Giovanni*. . . . The reminiscent phrases in his music are all based on common patterns of melody which inevitably occur in tunes of such general appeal."¹⁰

The latter generalization would seem to apply to the similarities indicated by George Pullen Jackson in an article in *The Musical Quarterly* for April 1936, based upon a very interesting comparison of "the entire two-hundred Foster compositions . . . with a thousand or more contemporary tunes":

Twenty-one of the Foster tunes used for comparison have been found related to melodies drawn from the store of Celtic-English-American *folk-*

melodies; while only seven (five being interrelated tonal variants of the "Old Folks at Home" type) show relationships to *composed* popular music. . . . Two songs only . . . have been found related to early *white men's* spiritual songs of which negro-sung variants were later (in the 1860's and 1870's) recorded.

If Stephen Foster used folk-material he did what Martin Luther did with Gregorian material in "Ein feste Burg"; and, as Albert Schweitzer has said, "the recognition of this fact deprives the melody of none of its beauty and Luther of none of the credit for it."¹¹

It is important that our estimate of Stephen Foster should avoid too much heightening. He does not belong to the class of composers who have produced large and sustained works, the great musicians of the world. We may fairly, however, approve the words of Young E. Allison:¹² "Here in the United States he holds undisputedly the place in popular affection held by Robert Burns in Scotland, Thomas Moore in Ireland, Franz Abt in Germany"; and likewise the summary of John Tasker Howard, whose biography *Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour* is admirable for its critical judgments as well as for its praise:¹³

Of the two hundred songs and compositions that Foster published, at least fifteen are still constantly sung,

and not less than fifty are worthy of preservation. . . . [They] form the most important group of people's songs that have ever come from the pen of any single composer of music.

4.

The character of Stephen Foster as he was in the golden gleam of his youth is revealed by his words and his songs and his actions, as these pages have already presented them. He wanted to get ahead, he wished recognition; but he would have success based upon good and honorable performance. Coming of a family that had pride in heredity and position, he sought to compose music of the style that would please "refined people." His fondness for the society of cultured persons, to which his brother Morrison referred,¹⁴ was not marred by snobbishness or self-advertisement. "He has never resorted to any claptrap or puffing of the press to bring himself or his music into notice," declared his newspaper friend, John Russell.¹⁵ When, because of the great popularity of his plantation and minstrel songs, he decided to "pursue the Ethiopian business without fear or shame,"¹⁶ he expressed his determination to establish his name as the best song-writer in this field. "I have taken great pains with it," Stephen's reference in a letter¹⁷ to one of his songs, fairly characterizes his early work of composing. That his compassion for the old Black Joes of life was not

merely poetical is illustrated in the incident Morrison has related in saying that his sympathies were "always with the lowly and the poor":¹⁸

Once on a stormy winter night a little girl, sent on an errand, was run over by a dray and killed. She had her head and face covered by a shawl to keep off the peltings of the storm, and in crossing the street she ran under the horse's feet. Stephen was dressed and about going to an evening party when he learned of the tragedy. He went immediately to the house of the little girl's father, who was a poor working man and a neighbor whom he esteemed. He gave up all thought of going to the party and remained all night with the dead child and her afflicted parents, endeavoring to afford the latter what comfort he could.

Another brother, Henry B. Foster, wrote that Stephen "was a firm believer in the gospel of Christ and ever had an abiding confidence in His mercy."¹⁹ As has been brought out, the Fosters were a devout Episcopalian family. Stephen's older sister, Ann Eliza (who had a hand in his tutoring as a boy), married an Episcopalian rector, the Reverend Edward Y. Buchanan, a brother of President James

Buchanan.* Before Stephen left Pittsburgh, Mrs. Buchanan wrote from the village of Paradise, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, asking Stephen to compose some organ music for her; she was playing the organ recently installed²⁰ in All Saints Church,²¹ one of her husband's several parishes. Stephen replied with humor:²² "As I have no knowledge of that instrument I have thought it advisable not to expose my ignorance." If Stephen while in Cincinnati chose to amend his ignorance he could have found a suitable organ in Christ Church,²³ a short distance from his boarding house on Fourth Street. The records of Christ Church and St. Paul's Church of those years do not contain his name; they give only the names of communicants who formally became members of the parishes. It is possible that Stephen attended the course of lectures on sacred music given in Cincinnati in 1848 by the noted composer of hymns, Lowell Mason, of Boston.²⁴ Later in life Stephen wrote hymns and Sunday School songs, concerning which John Tasker Howard found himself compelled to say that they "are almost worthless musically."

As to the weak side of Stephen's character it is not out of place to cite Henry Adams's comment on New England and Southern types in America of the 'fifties: "Both were apt to

* In the Episcopal cemetery at Paradise is the grave of the oldest daughter of the Buchanans, Charlotte Foster Buchanan, 1836-1850.

drink hard and to live low lives.”²⁵ Undoubtedly Stephen became a hard drinker and his associates were of the convivial kind suggested in his song “Comrades, Fill No Glass for Me.” But he did not live a low life in any contemptible sense of the word. Perhaps the best summing up was that made by Young E. Allison. He granted²⁶ that Stephen had a “weak and fatal love of drink, which seems to have developed after he was twenty-five”; but he made the point that “Foster’s drinking habit, however unfortunate it proved to him, did not affect the quality of his art as he bequeathed it to us.”

CHAPTER XII

ECHOES OF THE MEXICAN WAR

"The Recruiting Sergeant, with his party, was out yesterday with drums beating and colors waving their invitation to glory and broken bones."— *Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal*, May 30, 1847.

I.

THE Mexican War, 1846 to 1848, came to its height and its close during Stephen's stay in Cincinnati. At first the local newspapers reflected the opposition view held by many, including an Illinois lawyer named Abraham Lincoln.*¹ Opposition dwindled. By late March 1847, the *Gazette* was saying editorially: "We . . . have often declared that this war was unnecessary in its commencement," but nevertheless the editor referred "with swelling emotion" to the "gallant Taylor."²

* Shortly after Lincoln took his seat in the House of Representatives in December 1847, he introduced the so-called "spot" resolutions attacking President Polk for bringing on the war with Mexico. In a speech before the House the following July, Lincoln declared that, although the conflict had been "unnecessarily and unconstitutionally" brought on by Polk, nevertheless after "the war had begun and had become the cause of the country," the Whigs gave their support as well as the Democrats. He praised General Taylor as "the hero of the Mexican War" and later he campaigned for his election. See Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, pp. 420, 460.

Patriotic meetings were held in Cincinnati that spring, and the new Fourth Ohio Regiment of Volunteers was formed.³ Under the command of Colonel Brough the regiment sailed for New Orleans on July 2 in three steamers.⁴ The appeals for volunteers continued in this fashion:⁵

All who enlist receive a bounty of 160 acres of land at the end of the war, \$42 per year for clothing and \$7 per month for pay. This regiment is destined for the table lands in Mexico—than which there is no healthier spot on earth.

Dunning Foster was moved to enlist; he went to Pittsburgh in June 1847 to join the "Pittsburgh Blues." It was June 1848 before he returned, weakened from illness incurred in service.⁶

The facts that he had "a son in the General Land Office at Washington and one in the army under General Scott" were cited in advertisements which the father of Morrison, Dunning and Stephen published in the Pittsburgh newspapers in the late summer of 1847. William B. Foster had an office in Pittsburgh "for the purpose of procuring Land Warrants at the seat of Government for the discharged soldiers of the Regular Army as well as Volunteers who have served their country in the present war with Mexico."⁷

2.

Stephen stayed on his job at the Irwin & Foster office and carried Dunning's work also.⁸ His one patriotic contribution was a composition of military music. To meet the demand incident to parades and marching of soldiers a flood of special numbers came from the publishers' presses.⁹ For the Cincinnati public there were concerts at the Melodeon Hall by the Military Band of the U.S. Barracks at Newport, Kentucky, just across the river.¹⁰ Following the mode of the moment Stephen wrote a "quick step as performed by the military bands." The title was "Santa Anna's Retreat from Buena Vista." The immediate suggestion for it doubtless came from a dispatch in the New Orleans *Picayune* of March 23, 1847, copied in the Cincinnati papers of a week later. The headlines announced "GLORIOUS NEWS FROM THE ARMY" and "The Mexican Army led by Santa Anna Defeated at Buena Vista with Great Slaughter."¹¹

After the Cincinnati volunteers had been welcomed home with the ringing of bells, a parade and a banquet in July 1848,¹² the city settled back into relative calm. That this was only relative is indicated by an item in the *Atlas* of July 21, 1848, reporting that "the Hotels appear to be unusually crowded for the hot weather months. Many are here from the South to take a week or two's comfort before proceeding further on."

CHAPTER XIII

IN THE SUMMER OF 1848

"I would not die in summer time
When hearts are light and free."

—Song, Stephen Foster

I.

THERE was an episode in the summer of 1848 which, beyond its factual importance in Stephen's story, illustrates the spirit of the Foster family. This was the illness of Morrison Foster in the far South in late May, his journey northward accompanied by Dunning Foster, and a stay in Cincinnati from July 1 to 11 when Morrison, Dunning and Stephen were with their mother, who had come on from Pittsburgh.

Writing many years later about the influence of their mother upon the Foster children, Morrison, in pardonably heightened language, declared that "no unkind word ever passed between any members of that family, for strife was repelled and anger washed away by the pure stream of love that emanated from her presence":¹

Her discourses abounded in illustrations of the goodness of God and the necessity for our recognizing the fact that dependence on Him alone

constitutes the happiness of mankind. Sometimes she would say, almost abruptly, "And now, my children, kneel down here around me and let us pray to our heavenly Father."

Rising, her face resumed its sweet, sunny aspect, and everything went on as though it was the most natural thing in the world to fall down and worship God at any time.

Concerning Stephen's love for his mother, Morrison wrote that it "amounted to adoration," and that "there is not one reference to mother in the homely words in which he clothed his ballads but came direct from his heart."²

It is from a copy of the manuscript reminiscences of this loving, pious woman, as recently found by Mrs. Evelyn Foster Morneweck, that we learn the facts concerning Morrison's serious illness in 1848. Mrs. Morneweck's summary³ follows:

Morrison, Stephen, Dunning and their mother were all in Cincinnati together from July 1 to July 11, 1848. Morrison took sick in New Orleans on May 21 at the Planter House with malarial fever. He started north on the *Magnolia* on June 8, but became so very ill that he had to leave the boat on June 18 at Evansville, In-

diana, where he stopped to see Dr. Morgan of that place.

The captain of the *Magnolia* took the news to Dunning in Cincinnati, and the latter went down to Evansville for Morrison. They left Evansville on June 25 on the *Atlantis* and reached Louisville next day, where they stayed until June 30.

In the meantime Mrs. Foster had been notified of how sick Morrison was, and she went down to Cincinnati. Morrison and Dunning left Louisville on the *Ben Franklin* on June 30, and arrived at Cincinnati next morning.⁴

The local newspapers supply reports of relevant happenings in Cincinnati during the eleven days Mrs. Foster and her sons were together. From them we know that, upon the arrival of the boat on Saturday morning, July 1, Morrison was taken to the Broadway Hotel,* where Dunning had lived during his first year in the city.⁵ This hotel at Fourth and Broadway was only a half block away from the boarding house of Mrs. Jane Griffin, where presumably Mrs. Foster stayed with Dunning and Stephen.

* Under "Strangers in the City" in the *Daily Chronicle* of July 3, 1848, and under "Hotel Arrivals" in the *Atlas* of the same date it is recorded that "M. Foster, Pittsburgh" was registered at the Broadway Hotel.

To thank God for Morrison's recovery and for Dunning's safe return from war service in Mexico, Mrs. Foster, we may feel sure, on Sunday attended morning prayer at Christ Church or possibly at St. Paul's, to which Mrs. Griffin belonged; and we may hazard further that, as when they were children at home, Dunning and Stephen knelt with her.

2.

With Morrison's continued improvement we can imagine that Mrs. Foster had time to call on her old friends up the street, Mr. and Mrs. Michael P. Cassilly, and to congratulate them upon what she read in the newspapers about their son, William B. Cassilly. The *Atlas* announced him as secretary for a great mass meeting of Whigs at Carthage on July 10⁶ and as secretary of the committee for the reception of Ohio Volunteers,⁷ due home any day after their Mexican War service.

The city was in a continuous commotion just then, with soldiers of Michigan, Maryland and Pennsylvania arriving daily on steamboats from New Orleans, and marching through the streets before sailing eastward or going northward by train. On Friday evening, July 7, a mistaken rumor spread that the Ohio Volunteer Regiment had landed. "The firing of canon caused the fire alarm bells to ring, the firemen thinking they [the arriving companies] were the Ohio boys. Every fire company in the city was on the wharf in a few minutes with

their hose reels and thousands of citizens participated in the reception." Then, as the *Chronicle* reported next morning,⁸ the arrivals were discovered to be six companies of the First Pennsylvania Regiment.

Col. Wynkoop, in behalf of his regiment, thanked the citizens of Cincinnati and the Buckeye State for the brilliant reception. They gave three cheers for Gen. Zachary Taylor at the conclusion of his remarks, and then paraded through the principal streets of our city and were greeted with hearty cheers on all sides.

3.

"There were thirty-four steamers at our landing yesterday," the *Chronicle* of July 7 reported. Dunning may well have pridefully pointed out to his mother that Irwin & Foster had boats scheduled for Pittsburgh, Louisville, New Orleans, St. Louis and Memphis, and that the firm also arranged for transportation to the East,⁹ via the Pennsylvania Canal, as agents for D. Leech & Company's Line. Then Stephen may have told his mother about Dunning's recent honor, chairmanship of an important committee of the Chamber of Commerce.¹⁰

We can guess that Stephen said nothing to Mrs. Foster about his persistent dream of success not in business but as a composer of music. He may, however, have taken her to

the publishing house, "under the Melodeon," of Peters, Field & Co., there to chat with her old friend of Pittsburgh days, W. C. Peters.¹¹ Mrs. Foster could hardly help seeing, displayed on the sheet-music counters, this sign:

NEW PUBLICATIONS*—

PETERS, FIELD & CO. have published recently the following popular Songs, Polkas, &c:

"BEN BOLT,"
or "Oh! don't you remember,"—
by Kneass;

"STAY, SUMMER BREATH,"
by S. C. Foster;

"O, LEAVE ME TO MY SORROW"—
H. D. Sofge;

"TOM THUMB POLKA"—
With a beautiful likeness of the little
General.

ALSO—Songs of the Sable Harmonists, consisting of

"Susanna;"

"Uncle Ned;" (the original copy)

"Louisiana Belle."

PETERS, FIELD & CO.

* This announcement appeared as an advertisement in the *Daily Chronicle* from July 13, to December 1, 1848, inclusive.

And picking up the "favorite ballad: STAY, SUMMER BREATH," magnificently "inscribed to Miss Sophie B. Marshall," Mrs. Foster may have said: "Sophie Cassilly's granddaughter! You think her a very lovely girl, don't you, Stephen?"

The report of Morrison Foster's daughter reads: "Morrison and his mother left for home on July 11 on the steamboat *Niagara*."

CHAPTER XIV

THE 'FORTY-NINERS PASS THROUGH

"Oh! California
That's the land for me!"
—Marching song to the
music of "Oh! Susanna."

I.

THERE followed within six months the streaming of emigrants through Cincinnati on the rush to California. "The Gold Excitement," "The Thirst for Gold," "An Incident in Gold Digging," "Route to California"—such were the headings of items which peppered the news pages.¹

As has already been told, Irwin & Foster in the spring of 1849 had their share in the transportation of emigrants bound for the great starting point for wagon parties, Independence, Missouri. Without in the least planning it, their bookkeeper contributed a more vital and picturesque share. Stephen's "Oh! Susanna," of which no one knew the author, was caught up by these west-bound travellers in a fashion made familiar to the present generation by Emerson Hough's novel *The Covered Wagon*, and by the motion picture based upon it. How they dropped the "come from Alabama" and added fresh words to the irresist-

ible tune is shown in the version printed in the *Atlas* of January 9, 1849:

CALIFORNIA

The emigrants to the El Dorado
are getting quite musical. Just hear
how one of them sings:

I soon shall be in 'Francisco
And then I'll be all round
And when I meet the gold lumps there
I'll pick them off the ground. . . .
So Brothers don't you cry!
Oh California!
That's the land for me—
I'm going to Sacramento
With my washbowl on my knee!

Other typical lines to which "Oh! Susanna"
resounded were those of the New England
argonauts officially termed "the Beverly Joint
Stock San Francisco Company with shares of
\$500 each":

We started from Old Beverly,
Mid cheers from great and small,
We hope to get back bye and bye
When we'll return them all. . . .
O! California
We'll see you bye and bye
If we've good luck, and if we don't
Why, bless you, don't you cry.

When the boat *Sovereign of the Seas*, bearing
the Beverly company entered the port of San
Francisco, "the thousands assembled to greet
her" sang:

"Oh! Susanna, darling, take your ease,
For we have beat the clipper fleet,
The Sovereign of the Seas."²

The way those who stayed at home looked at those who followed the call of the Far West is revealed in the newspaper items. In March 1849 the *Atlas* quoted a contemporary as follows:³

Among those who have recently left the city for California, the *Chronicle* mentions the following: Wm. W. Walker, a gentleman who has been raised in our midst and endeared to all who know him by qualities richer in worth than the ones he seeks; Wm. H. Harrison, a grandson of the late President Harrison, who, with the spirit of his ancestor, seeks the Western wilds; Lieutenant Browning, U.S.N., Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Simpson.

A month later the *Gazette* apparently took satisfaction in quoting from the *Louisville Courier* a report that "a party of five or six New Yorkers came back thoroughly disgusted with gold seeking. . . . During their entire progress they had not seen a speck of gold."⁴ And William Stewart, a Cincinnati machinist, inserted in the newspapers an advertisement⁵ for his water wheel as "better than California gold!"

CHAPTER XV
GOD'S PLENTY

"No other composer has produced so many simple, unassuming songs that have survived their first popularity."

—John Tasker Howard

I.

DURING the year 1849 the call of music was becoming too insistent for Stephen to resist. Late that summer he entered into correspondence with the New York publishers, Firth, Pond & Company. A letter from them to Stephen dated September 12,¹ referred to his "acquaintance with the proprietors or managers of the different bands of 'minstrels'" and the prospect of introducing his songs to the public. Closing with a warning against writing "too much and too fast," the publishers accepted the proposition Stephen had made to pay him "two cents upon every copy of your future publications issued by our house, after the expenses of publication are paid. . . . As soon as 'Brother Gum' makes his appearance he shall be joined to pretty 'Nelly.' "*"

So Stephen concluded to devote himself to writing popular music, with Firth, Pond & Co.

* Stephen's song, "Nelly Was a Lady."

and also F. D. Benteen of Baltimore as his publishers. In the year 1850 they published fourteen of his songs and an instrumental composition.² By February 23, 1850, Stephen was back in his native city of Pittsburgh,³ there to begin his career as a professional composer of music.

2.

There is no use in scolding America of this pioneer age because it meted out to Stephen Foster meager payment† for his music; the older European countries did not do better for Schubert and Mozart.

It is ungracious and quite futile to indulge in laments about the later years of Stephen's life. Simply for his own happiness we may wish that it had been otherwise. We may wish that he had held to his bookkeeper's quill in the steamship office and have composed during

† John Tasker Howard has shown that Stephen's earnings in his most productive years were reasonably good; and the comment of Fletcher Hodges, Jr., director of the Foster Hall staff, is as follows: "Stephen Foster did receive meagre payment if we compare his earnings with those of a merchant prince, the president of a railroad, or an executive in a Pittsburgh mill of his own day, or if we compare his earnings with those of a successful composer of the present, for example, Irving Berlin or George Gershwin. But if we judge Stephen Foster's income as that of an American composer of popular music in the years before the Civil War, we find that it was no doubt greater than that of any of his contemporaries. At any rate Stephen was earning enough to maintain his family and himself in comfort if not in luxury; and a large share of blame for the fact that he died in poverty should be placed on his shoulders as well as on the America of his time—which was not, of course, entirely free of responsibility towards the composer of its songs."

his odds and ends of time, observing the Firth and Pond warning against writing too much and too fast. There is an instance of another rare kindred spirit who did just this in another creative field. Charles Lamb in old London a half century before—a man “below the middle stature,”⁴ a man whose *Confessions of a Drunkard* rend your heart, a man “haunted with a sense . . . of incapacity for business”⁵—this man stuck to his counting-house desk for six-and-thirty years and outside business hours produced a wealth of musical prose marked by exquisite humor and pathos.

Of exquisite humor and pathos there is “God’s plenty” in Stephen Foster’s melodies and we should be thankful. Not for ourselves but his own peace we could pray that such a later life as Lamb’s had been granted to him whose youthful gleam was golden.

CHAPTER XVI

JEANIE WITH THE LIGHT BROWN HAIR

"I long for Jeanie and my heart bows low."
—Stephen Foster

I.

ASIR GALAHAD attitude marked Stephen's relations with girls and young women in his early youth at Pittsburgh and during his Cincinnati years. As to the love sentiments in his songs he would have agreed that "the truest poetry is the most feigning."¹ Upon his return to Pittsburgh early in 1850 he fell into his routine as a professional composer of music, and he shortly fell also into what was not routine for him. Soon he was dreaming, this time not feigning, of

... Jeanie with the light brown hair
Borne like a vapor on the summer air.²

Jeanie was Jane Denny McDowell, daughter of the late Dr. Andrew N. McDowell,³ the physician who had attended Charles Dickens when he was ill at Pittsburgh in 1842,⁴ and great-granddaughter of Professor McDowell "who was, in 1799, president of the College at Annapolis, Md."⁵ That Stephen had known her as one of the local group of girls before going to Cincinnati is probable, since Dunning,

in a letter to Morrison,⁵ wrote familiarly about Jane on her visit to Cincinnati in January, 1849—a time when Stephen chanced to be out of the city, visiting in Pittsburgh.

It was a swift wooing. Jane and Stephen were married July 22, 1850.⁶

How Stephen proposed is charmingly told by his granddaughter, Mrs. A. D. Rose, who had the story from her grandmother. Her words will complete this chapter:⁷

2.

“Stephen, although mild and gentle of disposition, was known to his family and friends to be the possessor of an iron will, when he chose to exercise it. His very proposal of marriage to his wife was typical of this.

“At the same time he was courting her, she had another very attentive admirer, Richard Cowan. Mr. Cowan was a lawyer, wealthy, handsome and distinguished in appearance. Stephen suffered somewhat from the contrast, as he was small in stature, and, although his features were regular and pleasing, he was not the type which women call handsome. The two of them continued each to pay court.

“One evening, owing to some miscalculation on Miss Jane’s part, both called at Dr. McDowell’s home at the same hour. Stephen came first. When Richard was ushered in by Old Black Joe, Stephen promptly turned his back upon the pair, took up a book and read

the evening through. (Grandma always delighted to tell this story.)

"At ten-thirty calling hours were over in those good old days and Richard, punctilious in all things, arose. Wrapping his military broadcloth cape about him elegantly, he bade the forbidding back of Stephen a low sweeping 'Good evening, Sir.'

"No answer from Stephen. Jane accompanied Richard to the door, feeling in her heart that a crisis of some kind was impending. She often laughingly said that, when she came back into the room that night, she scarcely knew where her sympathies lay; whether they had departed with Richard, or were present with Stephen. At any rate she had small time for speculation—Stephen had arisen, was standing by the table pale and stern as she came in.

"'And now Miss Jane I want your answer! Is it yes? or is it no?'

"And Grandma, nineteen in years and unused to quick decisions, made one then and never regretted it."

CHAPTER XVII

"THE WEATHER IS BITTER COLD"

"And I am sick at heart."

—Shakespeare

I.

IT was late in the year 1858 that Stephen Foster made his final visit to Cincinnati. He was then thirty-two years old, with a record behind him of songs which, as Alexander Woollcott has said, "are now and for generations yet to come will be an enduring part of American life."¹

How his own generation greeted his music, abroad as well as in this country, is indicated in an article appearing in the Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* on January 22, 1857.*

Extracts from this article are as follows:

FOSTER'S MUSIC

If popularity is any test of merit, to Stephen E. [*sic*] Foster's Melodies must be assigned a high rank. Probably no man's ideas have been more often repeated, when we consider singing, playing, whistling, etc. His tunes are a perpetual solace to the miner of California, the slave in the

* This article was recently found in the files of the *Gazette* by E. Jay Wohlgemuth, who led in Foster research in Cincinnati.

cotton fields of the South, and they gladden the tedious watches of the sailor in every sea reached by American or English enterprise. It is hardly too much to assert there is not a family in this country where any musical taste exists, that has not been cheered with the melody of his songs. In fact they are sung all over the civilized world, the seacoast cities of China not excepted. We lately read of an American traveller (Bayard Taylor, we think) teaching "Uncle Ned" to the Arabs in Africa and explaining to them, at their request, the meaning of the words in their own dialect. A Paris correspondent of a Boston paper says, on hearing "Oh, Susannah" whistled through the streets, he enthusiastically cried out "America for ever!"

Dickens speaks of its popularity in the prisons of England; and a friend who has spent some time in Central America says he has heard the natives amuse themselves by the hour in singing snatches of Foster's early songs which they had caught from the roving Californians.

Some account of these songs may prove interesting. For the main facts we are indebted to Mr. Wm. C. Peters. . . .

Like Tom Moore, Haynes Bayley and Mrs. Norton, the poetry of Mr. Foster is wedded to his own melodies. It is this intimate connexion between his poetry and music that gives such a charm to his compositions. His subjects are always simple, and so is his treatment of them; yet they are broad and well defined. It is impossible to conceive of anything better suited to the popular ear than the subject matter of his melodies and words.

Mr. Foster resides somewhere near Pittsburgh and has always contented himself, we think, with a moderate clerkship and a small percentage on the sale of his songs. With a most amiable character and the modesty allied to true genius, he has never resorted to any claptrap or puffing of the press to bring himself or his music into notice. In fact, we have seldom or never observed a passing "notice" of any of his songs in the papers, although the songs themselves are "familiar as household words" all over the civilized globe.

The member of the *Gazette* staff who wrote that tribute was Foster's friend of his Cincinnati days, John B. Russell. In a letter² dated Pittsburgh, January 28, 1857, Stephen

thanked Russell for "your complimentary notice of me and my music." Then Stephen added words which are so human that we look into his very heart:

How a man likes to show these little flatering [*sic*] testimonials to his wife! If it were not for that, the benefit to me of your kind and friendly action would be half lost.

Strive as he did to supply more substantial testimonials of his success as a composer, Stephen was not making a go of it. His finances were always on the perilous edge, and in 1857 he and Jane and their little daughter had to give up their modest home in Pittsburgh and take rooms in a boarding house.³

2.

It was in the following year, November 11, 1858, that Stephen wrote to his brother Morrison⁴ about a trip which "will be a recreation and variety for me." His friend William Hamilton, who described himself as "clerk of the steamer *Ida May*, plying between this city [Pittsburgh] and Cincinnati," invited Stephen and Jane to take a boat trip with him to Cincinnati.

In addition to his wife and their daughter Marion, the party included Mary Wick, daughter of his sister Henrietta. Remembering that magical visit of Henrietta and himself to Cincinnati in 1833, Stephen may have wished

his daughter, seven years old as he was then, and Henrietta's daughter to repeat the pleasures of their parents.

On the river journey to Cincinnati Stephen completed the composition of a song started earlier, "Parthenia to Ingomar," later a favorite in concert circles.⁵ The scenery along the Ohio viewed by the Foster pleasure party was overcast by "cloudy and gloomy" skies. As the column RIVER INTELLIGENCE in the *Gazette* reported, "for nearly three weeks we have had cloudy, dull cold weather, with scarcely a gleam of sunshine."⁶ The same newspaper says that there was "a large amount of activity and bustle on the levee" at the time the Fosters would be landing.

The little girls were surely excited, as had been their parents before them, with the spectacle of the great strange city. There were the busy streets and store-windows displaying toys and carpets and, as one advertisement shouted, "Furs! Furs! Furs! Ladies! Fancy Furs!"⁷ Possibly the girls were taken to something very educational and cultural, the Modern Gallery of Art "now open at No. 100 West Fourth Street . . . where may be seen the finest paintings of all time."⁸ Stephen would doubtless vote for attending the New National Theater that week, where the performance included "Knight of Arvo" and "Paddy Mile's Boy."⁹

We are certain of one beautiful sight that the Fosters enjoyed: a grand snowstorm. This

arrived on Sunday night, November 14. The *Gazette* of Monday described it as "not a flurry but a storm which has put a white mantle of an inch thickness over the house-tops and upon the naked branches of the trees."¹⁰ Another report affirmed that "the hills, the roofs, the streets, the trees were wrapped in a white whose purity no judicial ermine could rival."¹¹

The visit must have been a combination of joyous and sad memories. Perhaps Stephen took Jane and the girls to see the Cassilly's Row office building from which he had looked out for three happy years upon the levee and the river. The second partner of Irwin & Foster, his brother Dunning, had never recovered after his Mexican War service and died in Cincinnati in 1856.¹² The firm was now Irwin & Co., Steam Boat Agents and Commission Merchants, with offices at 34 Broadway. Their business was flourishing.¹³

Gone were many of the old familiar faces; but some of Stephen's friends were in the city: Sophia Marshall, now Mrs. Henry I. Miller; Samuel Thompson, now employed with T. Penterman; W. C. Peters, now in business with his sons; John B. Russell and John McClelland.¹³

Stephen almost certainly called at the Russell home, then 265 West Fourth Street, to thank Russell again for that nice article about his music printed in the *Gazette* last year. If they talked about the editorials then appear-

ing in the *Gazette* their discussion concerned "A Slave Code for the Territories," "Douglas at the South," and Lincoln's defeat for the Senate in Illinois.¹⁴ Eliza Russell may have played the piano, as in the old days.

In writing about his plan for this trip Stephen had said: "We will stir old John McClelland up in Cincinnati, make the children sing and bring in Billy's bass voice."⁴ We may well imagine that the Fosters called at the McClelland residence, 364 West Fourth Street, to fulfil that promise. Billy Hamilton, who was to join his bass tones to those of Marion and Mary Wick, is authority for the story of other singing on this visit. As Hamilton reported in an interview in the *Pittsburgh Press* many years later,¹⁵ he and Stephen went one evening "to the office of the *Commercial Gazette* on Third Street, to see Cons Miller, river editor of that journal, with whom we were both well acquainted."

After a pleasant chat, we bade him good-by and started back to the boat to make preparations for our return to Pittsburgh. On our way down Broadway, we heard music and discovered a party of serenaders in the yard of a residence. . . . We stopped and listened. The melody was strangely familiar.

"Why, they are singing my song, 'Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming,'" exclaimed Foster.

"It is a bungling effort they are making, too," I replied. "Let us go over and help them out." . . .

We crossed the street and joined the party. They had not yet finished the song and we chimed in. Naturally they regarded us as intruders, and when the song was finished demanded what right we had to interfere with them in their enjoyment. I asked them if they knew the composer of the song they had just sung. They replied that they knew Stephen C. Foster composed the song, but they were not personally acquainted with him. I then introduced Foster, but the young men refused to believe he was the composer of the song, and declared we were imposters.

The serenaders then went with the visitors to the *Commercial Gazette* office, where their friend Miller established Stephen's identity. "And," concluded Hamilton, "we spent the balance of the evening in their company serenading in the residence quarter of the city."

That was in all likelihood the evening of Wednesday, November 17, 1858, inasmuch as an advertisement in the *Daily Gazette*, under the heading "Steamboats for Wheeling and Pittsburgh," announced that the Steamer *Ida May*, J. May, Master, "leaves on Thursday, 18th at 12 M."

3.

So Stephen Foster left Cincinnati for the last time. As he went aboard the *Ida May* he was, we must sorrowfully remind ourselves, a man whose musical genius was dimmed. He had completed nearly all of his great work: those songs which pass beyond period and locality and go straight to the timeless heart of humanity. Except for "Old Black Joe" and "Beautiful Dreamer," his work and all that followed during the next five years in Pittsburgh and New York were sad anticlimax.

When the boat drew out from the Cincinnati levee that November noon, the weather along the river, as the *Gazette* records,¹⁶ was "moderating, to all appearances." Like a portent for Stephen Foster the report reads further: "but towards evening the wind changed . . . and the weather is bitter cold."

SOURCES AND ANNOTATIONS

PREFATORY

1. "A spirit of pleasure and youth's golden gleam"—Wordsworth, *The Prelude*, Book XII, line 266.
2. E. Jay Wohlgemuth, *Within Three Chords*, 1928, p. 15.
3. John Tasker Howard's excellent biography: *Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour*, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1934.
4. Statements substantiated in this book.

CHAPTER I

A BOY VISITS CINCINNATI

1. J. W. Crumbaugh, "Tomlinson in Augusta"; Alvin Fayette Lewis, *History of Higher Education in Kentucky*, 1899; Sprague's *Annals*, Vol. VII; all three cited in a letter to J. K. Lilly from John Wilson Townsend of Louisville, Ky., July 6, 1936.
2. Letter of Eliza Foster, quoted in Howard's *Stephen Foster, America's Troubadour*, p. 53.
3. The river front of the period is depicted in a painting by a contemporary artist, John C. Wild, 1835, now in the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society rooms, University of Cincinnati Library.
4. As reported by a Dr. Catlin in *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, July 4, 1833.
5. Statement of Evelyn Foster Morneweck to the present writer at Detroit, October 1935.
6. *Cincinnati Directory Advertiser* for 1834.
7. Advertisements in the *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, June 1833.

8. *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, May 30, 1833.
9. Howard, p. 33.
10. Correspondence of the Portland, Me., *Daily Advertiser*, quoted in *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, June 20, 1833.
11. *Daily Gazette*, June 18, 1833.
12. *ibid.*, June 21, 1833.
13. *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, June 20, 1833.

CHAPTER II

RIVER COMMERCE

1. Morrison Foster, *My Brother Stephen*, Foster Hall Library, 1932, p. 8.
2. Howard, p. 133.
3. Advertisements in Cincinnati newspapers, directories, etc.
4. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1849-1850.
5. *Parish Record of St. Paul's Church*, Cincinnati, 1834-1852.
6. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1846.
7. Statement of Evelyn Foster Morneweck to the present writer, October 1935.
8. *Gazette*, February 28, 1846.
9. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1825.
10. *ibid.*, 1849-1850.
11. *Gazette*, November 1, 1848.
12. From the song "Oh! Susanna," first edition copy in Foster Hall Collection.
13. From Merchants Exchange Books, quoted in *Gazette*, October 11, 14, 18, 19, 1847.
14. Cincinnati daily *Atlas*, November 13, 1848.
15. *ibid.*, December 16, 1846.
16. *Cist's Weekly Advertiser*, May 17, 1847.
17. *Gazette*, September 16, 1847.

- 18 *ibid.*, February 26, 1847 and eighty subsequent issues.
19. Probable duties indicated by Captain Tom Greene, of the Greene Steamship Line, Cincinnati.
20. Alfred Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain. A Biography*, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 112-14.
21. Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, in *The Family Mark Twain*, p. 33.
22. C. H. Ambler, *Transportation in the Ohio Valley*, p. 123.
23. Cincinnati *Atlas*, November 29, 1847; Pittsburgh *Daily Commercial Journal*, June 17, 1847; *ibid.*, January 30, 1850; Cincinnati *Gazette*, December 31, 1847.
24. *Atlas*, July 8, 1848, quoting *The Western Boatman*.
25. *Gazette*, November 8, 1848.
26. *ibid.*, October 26, 1848.
27. *ibid.*, November 1, 1848.
28. Caption under framed picture of the flood in Ohio Historical and Philosophical Library.
29. *Gazette*, December 17, 1847.
30. *Atlas*, March 9, 1849.
31. Cincinnati *Daily Chronicle*, April 5, 1849.
32. *Atlas*, March 9 to April 7, 1848.
33. *Gazette*, March 1, 1848.
34. Robert P. Nevin, "Stephen C. Foster and Negro Minstrelsy," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1867, p. 612.
35. Morrison Foster, p. 35.
36. Howard, p. 150.

CHAPTER III

TURMOIL AND CALM ORDER

1. Letter published in *Foster Hall Bulletin*, February 1935.

2. Edward D. Mansfield, "Mansfield's Memories," quoted in *Centennial History of Cincinnati*, p. 731.
3. Howard, p. 150.
4. *Gazette*, July 6, 1847.

CHAPTER IV

FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES

1. Typed copy of the Reminiscences of Eliza Foster, generously supplied by Mrs. Evelyn Foster Morneweck.
2. Morrison Foster, pp. 31, 34.
3. Letter to the present writer from Mrs. Morneweck, June 22, 1936.
4. Sources of most of these names are indicated later. Certain names were supplied by E. J. Wohlgemuth, ardent devotee of Fosteriana in Cincinnati, and by Mrs. Morneweck.
5. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1825, 1840. *Gazette*, March 7, 1854.
6. Statement of Mrs. Morneweck to the present writer, October 1935.
7. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1829.
8. Statement of Simeon P. Johnson, of Cincinnati, to the present writer, April 1936.
9. *Chronicle*, June 11, 1847.
10. Minutes of the Session of the First Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, December 24, 1849.
11. *Gazette*, March 7, 1854; also Administration Book, Probate Court Records, Hamilton County, Ohio, No. 1, p. 538, as kindly reported to the present writer by Herman P. Goebel, Jr., Cincinnati Attorney.
12. *Gazette*, March 8, 1854.
13. *ibid.*, September 18, 1849.

14. Dr. Marshall's name, indicating that he hailed from Pennsylvania, first appeared in the *Cincinnati Directory* for 1819; it did not appear in editions subsequent to the *Directory* of 1844. The directories establish his associations with Dr. Avery and show that about 1840 his residence was with the Cassillys on Broadway near Fourth Street.
15. Parish Record, Christ Church, No. 1, 1818-1851, p. 95.
16. *ibid.*, pp. 98, 99.
17. Howard, p. 151.
18. Morrison Foster, p. 36.
19. *idem*, p. 41.
20. First edition copy of "Stay, Summer Breath" is in the Foster Hall Collection.
21. Information supplied the present writer by Miss Mary G. Russell, of Cincinnati, a granddaughter of Mr. and Mrs. John B. Russell.
22. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1849-1850.
23. *Gazette*, February 12, 1848.
24. Letter of Stephen published in *Foster Hall Bulletin*, No. 11, February 1935.
25. J. B. Russell, "Foster's Music," in *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January 22, 1857.
26. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1849-1850.
27. First edition copy of "Summer Longings" in the Foster Hall Collection.
28. Statement to the present writer by Mrs. Morne-
weck, October 1935.
29. Original letter of Stephen in the Foster Hall Collec-
tion.
30. *Gazette*, February 11, 1847; November 7, 1847.

CHAPTER V

THE QUEEN CITY OF THE WEST

1. Edgar Erskine Hume, of the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati, "The Founding of Cincinnati," convocation address, University of Cincinnati, 1933. University of Cincinnati Library.
2. James Parton, article on Cincinnati, *Atlantic Monthly*, August 1867, p. 232.
3. Dr. Daniel Drake, *Picture of Cincinnati*, 1815, p. 166.
4. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1840, "Table of Nativity."
5. Mrs. Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 1832, p. 74.
6. Quoted by Clara Longworth DeChambrun, *The Making of Nicholas Longworth*, 1933, pp. 57, 78.
7. Charles Dickens, *American Notes*, 1843, Vol. III, p. 130, The Biographical Edition of the Works of Charles Dickens.
8. *Atlas*, April 11, 1847.
9. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Old South Leaflets*, Vol. IV, No. 82, pp. 1-28.
10. Dr. C. F. Goss, *The Queen City*, p. 179.
11. *Gazette*, September 6, 1847.
12. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Longfellow's Poetical Works*, 1893, Vol. II, p. 290.
13. Henry D. Hooker, *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XI, pp. 393-4. Clara Longworth DeChambrun, *The Making of Nicholas Longworth*, 1933. *Cincinnati Gazette*, July 2, 1847.
14. Henry F. Pringle, *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 264-5. L. A. Leonard, *Life of Alphonso Taft*, 1920. *Cincinnati Gazette*, December 23, 1847; March 7, 1854.
15. *Gazette*, December 24, 1847.

16. Biographical sketches, *Cincinnati, The Queen City*, 1912, pp. 14-15.
17. H. W. Prentis, Jr., *Historical Sketch of the University of Cincinnati*.
18. *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. V, p. 110.
19. *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 422.
20. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1846, 1850. *The Cincinnati Miscellany*, 1844-1845.
21. Morrison Foster, p. 42.
22. Robert P. Nevin, "Stephen C. Foster and Negro Minstrelsy," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1867, p. 614.
23. Quoted by F. L. Pattee, *A History of American Literature*, p. 404.
24. Charles Allen Dinsmore, *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. III, pp. 552-3, 555-6.
25. *The Columbia Encyclopedia*, p. 161.
26. Douglass W. Miller, *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VII, pp. 102-3.
27. *History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County*, p. 476.
28. Letter of Stephen, published in *Foster Hall Bulletin*, No. 11, February 1935.
29. Letter of Stephen to William E. Millet, written at Cincinnati; original copy in the Foster Hall Collection.
30. *Gazette*, October 30, 1846.
31. Correspondence of the Portland, Me., *Daily Advertiser*, quoted in *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, June 20, 1833.
32. *Gazette*, January 24, 1848.

CHAPTER VI

IN OLD KENTUCKY

1. Covington then had a population of 8,000 (*Atlas*,

- August 15, 1848) and included important Kentucky families who mingled freely in Cincinnati.
2. Margaret Rives King, *Diary*, quoted by Clara Longworth DeChambrun, *The Making of Nicholas Longworth*, 1933, p. 94.
 3. *Gazette*, December 18, 1846.
 4. Words in the song "Dolly Day."
 5. *Gazette*, June 27, 1851.
 6. *ibid.*, October 8, 1847. Reference to this Cincinnati excursion in Louisville *Morning Courier*, October 11, 1847.
 7. Notation of Morrison Foster reproduced in museum of the Old Kentucky Home, Bardstown; original is in the Foster Hall Collection.
 8. Young E. Allison, *Stephen C. Foster and American Songs*, pamphlet preface.
 9. E. Jay Wohlgemuth, Paper on "Stephen Foster and Harriet Beecher Stowe," files of Literary Club, Cincinnati.
 10. Quoted in *Foster Hall Bulletin*, No. 9, November 1933, p. 9.
 11. Editor Wharton of the Wheeling, W.Va., *Times*, quoted in *Gazette*, October 20, 1847.
 12. Cale Young Rice, "Lines Written for the Dedication to Kentucky of the Old Kentucky Home," 1923. Copy in Old Kentucky Home, Bardstown.
 13. Howard, p. 37.
 14. John Tasker Howard, article in *The Musical Quarterly*, January 1935.
 15. Mrs. H. A. Cordes, of Cincinnati, is a granddaughter of Fannie Foster Green.
 16. Thomas D. Clark, "The Slavery Background of Foster's My Old Kentucky Home," *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, January 1936.
 17. Harriet Beecher Stowe, "The Story of Uncle Tom's Cabin," *Old South Leaflets*, Vol. IV, No. 82, pp. 1-28.

18. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Everyman Edition, Chapter XII.
19. Original manuscript in the Foster Hall Collection.
20. *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, p. 412.
21. *ibid.*, p. 416.
22. *ibid.*, p. 333.
23. Howard, p. 256.

CHAPTER VII

PLANTATION MELODIES

1. Morrison Foster, pp. 25 and 26.
2. *Atlas*, August 8, 1848.
3. *ibid.*, November 11, 1846; *Gazette*, August 25, 1847.
4. *Gazette*, August 19, 1847; *Chronicle*, August 20, 1847.
5. *ibid.*, March 31, 1847; *ibid.*, April 15, 1847; *ibid.*, September 8, 1847; *Chronicle*, September 4, 1847.
6. *Atlas*, August 8, 1848.
7. *Gazette*, August 30, 1849.
8. *ibid.*, October 8, 1849; *ibid.*, December 6, 1849.
9. *ibid.*, September 20, 1848.
10. *ibid.*, August 26-29, 1848.
11. *ibid.*, August 28, 1848; *Atlas*, August 30, 1848.
12. *Gazette*, December 20, 1849.
13. *ibid.*, March 19, 1847.
14. *Atlas*, August 19, 1848.
15. *Gazette*, March 16, 1847.
16. *Chronicle*, August 25, 1847.
17. First edition copy in the Library of Congress.
18. *Chronicle*, September 4, 1847.
19. Letter of Stephen in the Foster Hall Collection.
20. Title-page of the first edition of "Lou'siana Belle" reads: "Written for and sung by Joseph Murphy of the Sable Harmonists."

21. *Gazette*, March 31, 1847.
22. *ibid.*, April 15, 1847; *Chronicle*, September 4, 1847; *Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal*, September 7, 1847.
23. *Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal*, September 11, 1847.
24. *Gazette*, October 8, 1849.
25. First edition copy in the Foster Hall Collection.
26. *Pittsburgh Morning Post*, February 21, 1850.
27. *Gazette*, August 28, 1848.
28. Carl Wittke, *Tambo and Bones*, 1930, p. 20.
29. R. P. Nevin, *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1867.
30. Dean J. Rice, quoted by Howard, pp. 125-6, 128.
31. Letter quoted by Howard, pp. 180, 196.
32. *Chronicle*, November 23, 1847.
33. *Gazette*, July 30, 1849.
34. *Slave Songs of the United States*, 1867, No. 7, cited by Henry E. Krehbiel.
35. Henry E. Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs*, 1913, pp. 16-17.
36. George Pullen Jackson, article on Stephen Foster, *The Musical Quarterly*, April 1936, p. 169.

CHAPTER VIII

A TALE OF TWO BORDER CITIES

1. *Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal*, October 24, 1846.
2. *ibid.*, May 25, 1847.
3. Advertisement of Peters, Field & Co., in *Cincinnati Daily Chronicle*, July 13, 1848.
4. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, May 20, 1847.
5. New notes and advertisements in Pittsburgh newspapers.
6. *Pittsburgh Gazette*, August 4, 1847; *Daily Commercial Journal*, August 19, 1847.

7. *Cincinnati Gazette*, September 22, 1847.
8. *Louisville Courier*, October 11, 1847.
9. *Daily Commercial Journal*, August 21, 1847.
10. R. P. Nevin, *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1867.
11. *Daily Commercial Journal*, August 31, 1847.
12. Morrison Foster, p. 37.
13. *Daily Commercial Journal*, September 8, 1847.
14. *ibid.*, September 11, 1847.
15. First edition copy in the Foster Hall Collection.
16. *Cincinnati Gazette*, April 15, 1847.
17. Original letter in the Foster Hall Collection.
18. *Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal*, May 25, 1847.
19. *ibid.*, September 7, 1847.
20. Morrison Foster, p. 35.
21. *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January 22, 1857.
22. *Foster Hall Bulletin*, No. 11, February 1935, pp. 20 and 21.
23. *Cincinnati Gazette*, September 25, 1847.
24. *ibid.*, October 27, 1847.

CHAPTER IX

THE STAGE AND THE CONCERT HALL
OF THE 'FORTIES

1. Letter of Stephen published in the *Foster Hall Bulletin*, No. 11, February 1935.
2. *Home Journal*, New York, December 16, 1848.
3. *Chronicle*, April 6, 1849.
4. *Gazette*, April 13, 1849.
5. The present writer once heard this reputed saying of Forrest quoted by the veteran stage manager, Mark Hanley.
6. *Gazette*, April 19, 1848.
7. *ibid.*, December 13, 1848.
8. *Atlas*, December 14, 1846.

9. *Gazette*, November 9, 1847.
10. *ibid.*, January 5, 1847.
11. *ibid.*, July 10, 1847.
12. Items at various times in the Cincinnati newspapers.
13. Original edition copy in the Foster Hall Collection.
14. Robert P. Nevin, *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1867.
15. *Gazette*, July 5, 1847.
16. *ibid.*, April 15, 1849.
17. *Atlas*, April 14, 1849.
18. Paper on Shires Garden, written by Mrs. Sedley Brown, in the files of E. Jay Wohlgemuth, Cincinnati.

CHAPTER X

STEPHEN WINS SUCCESS

1. *Chronicle*, January 11, 1848.
2. *Gazette*, May 18, 1848.
3. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1849-1850.
4. News items and advertisements in Cincinnati newspapers.
5. *Gazette*, October 29, 1847.
6. *ibid.*, December 25, 1846.
7. *ibid.*, December 24, 1846.
8. Words as printed in a Peters, Field & Co. advertisement, *Gazette*, June 22, 1848.
9. Letter of Stephen to E. P. Christy, quoted by Howard, p. 196.
10. *Gazette*, September 22, 24, 1847.
11. *ibid.*, November 1, 1847.
12. *Chronicle*, July 13, 1848.
13. First edition copy in the Foster Hall Collection.
14. *Gazette*, June 10, 1847.
15. *Chronicle*, June 12, 1847.

16. *Foster Hall Chronological Index*.
17. *Atlas*, March 9, 1849.
18. Published by Foster Hall.

CHAPTER XI

POET, MUSICIAN AND MAN

1. Morrison Foster, p. 40.
2. Quoted by Howard, pp. 110 and 113.
3. Morrison Foster, p. 38. Tennyson's "The May Queen" was sung in Cincinnati on September 22, 1848. (*Gazette*, September 22, 1848.)
4. H. V. Milligan, *Stephen Collins Foster, A Biography*, 1920, p. 104.
5. Letter published in *Foster Hall Bulletin*, No. 11, February 1935.
6. The original book is in the Foster Hall Collection.
7. Morrison Foster, p. 47.
8. Henry Watterson, *Marse Henry*, Vol. II, p. 146.
9. Howard, p. 252.
10. Letter of Dr. Spaeth to the present writer, May 25, 1936.
11. Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, Vol. I, p. 16.
12. Young E. Allison, booklet, *Stephen C. Foster and American Songs*, p. 5.
13. John Tasker Howard, Introduction to *A Program of Stephen Foster Songs*, J. Fischer & Bro., New York, 1934.
14. Morrison Foster, p. 42.
15. J. B. Russell, "Foster's Music," *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, January 22, 1857.
16. Letter quoted by Howard, p. 196.
17. Letter quoted by Howard, p. 186.
18. Morrison Foster, p. 36.
19. Henry B. Foster, quoted by John Tasker Howard in *The Musical Quarterly*, January 1935, p. 22.

20. Mrs. Bertha Cochran Landis, "Rev. Edward Young Buchanan, D.D." *Publication Lancaster County Historical Society*, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 9 and 10, p. 129.
21. The present Church of All Saints at Paradise is not the original edifice, which was located in the Episcopal cemetery.
22. Letter quoted by Howard, *Musical Quarterly*, January 1935, p. 18.
23. W. H. Venable, *A Centennial History of Christ Church, Cincinnati*, p. 122.
24. *Atlas*, August 30, 1848.
25. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, p. 58.
26. Young E. Allison, *Stephen C. Foster and American Songs*, pp. 7 and 8.

CHAPTER XII

ECHOES OF THE MEXICAN WAR

1. Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, Vol. I, pp. 420ff.
2. *Gazette*, March 26, 1847.
3. *ibid.*, May 5, 1847.
4. *ibid.*, July 2, 1847.
5. *ibid.*, September 28, 1847.
6. Howard, p. 150.
7. *Pittsburgh Daily Commercial Journal*, August 17, 1847.
8. Howard, p. 150.
9. The newspapers carried many notices about new military band music.
10. *Gazette*, December 6, 1847.
11. *ibid.*, March 30, 1847.
12. *Atlas*, July 20, 1848.

CHAPTER XIII

IN THE SUMMER OF 1848

1. Morrison Foster, p. 44.
2. *ibid.*, p. 44.
3. Letter of Mrs. Morneweck to the present writer, June 22, 1936.
4. The arrival and departure of boats as given in Mrs. Morneweck's summary correspond precisely with the news statements regarding them in the Cincinnati newspapers.
5. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1846.
6. *Atlas*, July 10, 1848.
7. *ibid.*, July 8, 1848.
8. *Chronicle*, July 8, 1848.
9. *Atlas*, July 3, 1848.
10. *ibid.*, March 8, 1848. Dunning Foster was also a member of the Committee of Appeals of the Chamber of Commerce in April 1849.
11. The advertisements of Peters, Field & Co., usually indicated "under the Melodeon."

CHAPTER XIV

THE 'FORTY-NINERS PASS THROUGH

1. *Atlas*, *Gazette*, *Chronicle*, etc., of these months.
2. O. T. Howe, *Argonauts of '49*, 1923, p. 90.
3. *Atlas*, March 16, 1849.
4. *Gazette*, April 15, 1849.
5. *ibid.*, May 8, 1849.

CHAPTER XV

GOD'S PLENTY

1. Howard, p. 152.
2. *Foster Hall Chronological Index*. A second instrumental composition, "Soirée Polka," was issued in 1850 by W. C. Peters of Baltimore.

3. Howard, p. 155.
4. Charles Lamb, *Works*, "The Superannuated Man," p. 263.
5. *ibid.*, "Autobiography," p. 334.

CHAPTER XVI

JEANIE WITH THE LIGHT BROWN HAIR

1. Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act III, Scene 3.
2. "Jeanie With the Light Brown Hair," was published in 1854.
3. Morrison Foster, p. 42.
4. Howard, p. 157.
5. *idem*, p. 157.
6. *idem*, p. 158.
7. Mrs. Jessie Welsh Rose, article "My Grandmother's Memories," in *Foster Hall Bulletin*, No. 10, May 1934.

CHAPTER XVII

"THE WEATHER IS BITTER COLD"

1. Alexander Woolcott, radio address, February 17, 1935.
2. Original letter of Stephen in the Foster Hall Collection.
3. Howard, p. 274.
4. *idem*, p. 287.
5. *idem*, p. 288.
6. *Gazette*, November 18, 1858.
7. *ibid.*, November 15, 1858.
8. *ibid.*, November 17, 1858.
9. *ibid.*, November 17, 1858.
10. *ibid.*, November 15, 1858.
11. *ibid.*, November 17, 1858.
12. Howard, p. 59.

13. *Cincinnati Directory*, 1858.
14. *Gazette*, November 16, 1858.
15. Quoted by Howard, p. 288.
16. *Gazette*, November 19, 1858: "but towards evening the wind changed from South to Northwest and at the hour we go to press the weather is bitter cold."

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- Ablamowicz, Madame, 85
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